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HARVARD STUDIES
IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME XXIV



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PREFATORY NOTE

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LUCILIUS, THE ARS POETICA OF HORACE, AND PERSIUS

BY GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE

IN a paper upon Lucilius and Persius, read before the American Philological Association in 1909, I endeavored to show that in the first satire of Persius the use of fourteen fragments all from Lucilius, book XXVI, and still more the evident similarity in formal argument, the appearance of verbal imitation and adaptation, are clear indications that the direct models of Persius in thought, form, and sequence were the first two satires of Lucilius, book XXVI, with the *Ars Poetica* and Horace's *Sat.* II, 1.

It is my purpose in the present paper to show (1) that the influence of Lucilius was felt in the form and language of Horace's *Ars Poetica*; (2) that the aesthetic creed of Persius, especially in this first satire, and incidentally in his other satires, is derived from the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, but readapted to suit the changed literary conditions of the age of Nero.¹

So far as the influence of Lucilius upon the *Ars Poetica* is concerned, I accept the result of Norden's investigation, *Die Composition und die Litteraturgattung der Horazischen Epistula ad Pisones*,² and Cichorius's reconstruction of a satire of Lucilius in the eisagogic form addressed to a young historian, Julius Congus (?).³ I shall endeavor to show, however, that the traces of Lucilian influence are not confined to the closing lines of the *Ars Poetica*, 425 ff. Here Cichorius has ingeniously demonstrated the parallel development of the *τόπος* of the *verus* and

¹ It is not my purpose, except incidentally, to trace to their ultimate origin in the aesthetic and rhetorical theories of Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and the Greek Rhetoricians those principles and formulations of literary theory which were the common inheritance of Lucilius, Horace, and Persius. It is rather my desire to show the relation of interdependence which existed between the three Roman heirs, and thus to establish some of the lines of the development of the more strictly Roman tradition of aesthetic and literary criticism.

² *Hermes*, XL, pp. 481-528.

³ *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, pp. 109-127.

the *mendax amicus* in Lucilius and in Horace. My investigation leads me to believe that traces of Horace's Lucilian studies are also to be found elsewhere in the poem. But first it is necessary to recapitulate briefly certain characteristics of the eisagogic form established by Norden's study, for only thus shall we be able to appreciate the nature of the relationship of Lucilius to Horace intelligently.

By the term *εἰσαγωγή* Norden understands a manual of the laws governing an art or science arranged in accordance with a carefully formulated rhetorical scheme under the two topics of *ars* and *artifex*. Thus in the *Ars Poetica*, verses 1-294 are *de arte poetica* and verses 295-476 are *de poeta*. This scheme, as Norden shows,¹ is the one followed in the *de architectura* of Vitruvius, in the *institutiones oratoriae* of Quintilian, in the Pseudo-Galen and Pseudo-Soranus *ad filium* on Medicine, and in many other introductions to the Arts and Sciences. Such *εἰσαγωγαί* might be composed in the form of a catechism² (*σχῆμα κατὰ πᾶσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν*) or in the form of an exhortation to scientific study delivered by an expert to a tiro.³ In the *Ars Poetica* of Horace this parenetic element is very prominent. In all *εἰσαγωγαί* we usually find the discussion of certain conventional *τόποι*, naturally with considerable freedom as to the admission or exclusion of any particular *τόπος*. Thus under the *ars* were discussed the age, invention, and perfection of the art as well as its aims, advantages, and pleasures, and the formulation of its laws; under the *artifex*, the training, relation between training and talent, character of the *perfectus artifex* as contrasted with the *μαϊνόμενος* or inspired enthusiast.⁴

We find certain formal characteristics of the *εἰσαγωγή* reproduced in Lucilius, book XXVI, as well as in the *Ars Poetica*. Thus (1) the categorical address in or to the second person is essential to the *εἰσαγωγή*.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 508-514.

² *E.g.*, Cicero's *de partitione oratoria*. The arithmetic lesson, *Ars Poetica*, 326 ff., is a humorous extract from such an *εἰσαγωγή* *eis ἀριθμητικήν*. Cf. Norden, p. 519.

³ *E.g.*, Horace's *Ars Poetica*. Cf. also Cato, *ad Marcum Filium*, Livy to his son on excellencies and defects of the Orator (Quintil. X, 1, 39). Other examples quoted by Norden, pp. 520, 521.

⁴ We find the following points in Horace's *Ars Poetica*: Age, inventor, perfecter, v. 391 ff. (275 ff. on drama, 220 on satyr play); aim, 333 ff.; parts, 488 ff.; training of *artifex*, 309 ff.; talent versus study, 408 ff.; perfect artist, 502 ff. Cf. Norden, p. 517, note 1.

This is found frequently both in Horace's *Ars Poetica* and in Lucilius, book XXVI. In Horace, for example: v. 6, *credite Pisones*; v. 38, *sumite materiam vestris . . . versate diu*; v. 153, *Tu quid ego . . . audi*; v. 269, *versate manu, versate diurna*; v. 292, *Vos, o Pompilius sanguis, reprehendite*; v. 366, *O maior iuvenum . . . tolle memor*.¹ In Lucilius, book XXVI, cf. frag. 603, *vide ne . . .*; 609, *quid cavendum*, etc.; 610, *haec tu si voles*; 620, *hunc laborem sumas*; 621, *percrepa . . . cane*.

(2) Teaching by personal example is a further common practice of this form. Thus Horace tells of his own literary practice and ideals in the first person and with some pedagogic insistence, as we can see from the frequent use of *ego* in verses 35, 55, 85-87, 234, 301, 304-306, 409-410 (*ipse*); and Lucilius in frags. 590, 593, 609, 628, 630, 650.

(3) By definition the *εἰσαγωγή* necessarily insists on training by study rather than an overconfident dependence on natural gifts.² Thus Lucilius, 612, and especially 627:

quare hoc colere est satius quam illa, studium omne hic consumere.

This insistence on *studium*, which recurs several times in the *Ars Poetica* (e.g., 240-243, 268-269, 291-295, 385-390, and the satirical description of the *demens poeta*, 453 ff.), finds its clearest expression in 409-415, especially in the words:

Ego nec studium sine divite vena
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium.

And again in 412:

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
abstinuit Venere et vino; qui Pythia cantat
tibicen, didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.

(4) Study implies the critical teacher. Thus Lucilius in 944 probably promised his help to some aspirant for literary honors:

a me auxiliatus sies.

¹ Cf. Wickham's introduction to *Ars Poetica*, p. 383. Wickham rightly emphasizes the fact that, "The places where a name or other personal appeal occurs are . . . where the chief points of the epistle are to be enforced."

² Here we are dealing, as Professor Shorey has shown, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. 40, pp. 185-201, with the Greek rhetorical commonplace on φύσις, μελέτη, ἐπιστήμη. Cf. especially pp. 185-188.

Horace, 304-308,¹ describes his critical function more fully :

Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
reddere quae ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi ;
munus et officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo,
unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poetam,
quid deceat, quid non, quo virtus, quo ferat error.

Similarity of form finds expression in similarity of language. Without asserting, therefore, any direct borrowing from Lucilius, I wish to compare two Lucilian passages with Horace's *Ars Poetica* to show that the satire to Julius Congus from book XXVI was evidently written in the same general eisagogic form as the *Ars Poetica*. In both writers we find the same mixture of friendly interest with critical advice. Thus Lucilius, 609, warns the tiro earnestly of the dangers to be avoided in his art :

Quid *cavendum* tibi censerem, quid *vitandum* maxime.

Similar in tone are Horace's strictures when discussing the choice of words, 46, 45 : ²

In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis
hoc *amet*, hoc *spernat* promissi carminis auctor.

Indeed the experienced teacher who tempers severity with friendly sympathy for youthful aspiration seems typical of the εἰσαγωγή. In this temper Lucilius says to Congus, 617 :

Tuam probatam mi et spectatam maxume adulescentiam.

Horace similarly recognizes the earnestness and good sense of the elder of the Pisos, already developed under wise paternal training and precept, in 366 :

O maior iuenum, quamvis et voce paterna
fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis.³

We may now turn to a detailed examination of the passages in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, which show either direct imitation or free adap-

¹ On the image of the whetstone, cf. Shorey, *op. cit.*, p. 188, note 4.

² I transpose these lines with Bentley, Kiessling, and Norden.

³ Cf. also 291, Vos, o Pompilius sanguis, etc.

tation¹ from Lucilius, book XXVI.² It will be convenient to follow the order of Horace, the borrower.

Lucilius, 587 :

nisi portenta anguisque volucris ac pinnatos scribitis,

began his literary polemic against the tragedians with a discussion on the grand style of tragedy which he distinguishes from the simple language and direct purpose of his satire, 590. He evidently criticised the use of stock tragic monsters. Horace transfers this commonplace of Greek origin³ to a different context, by using these traditional tragic monsters as a text to inculcate the necessity of unity and congruence in a true work of art. Thus in verses 11-13 :

Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim ;
sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut
serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.⁴

In verses 45-72 in the *Ars Poetica* we have a discussion on the choice of words, ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων. Horace insists on the importance of a careful order of words as a means of giving well-worn words an aspect of newness, but also defends the right of the poet to coin new words in moderation and on the analogy of Greek formations. Thus in 48 ff. :

Si forte necesse est
indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum et
fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter,
et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta.

¹ To avoid undue vagueness, I have found it convenient to speak (1) of free adaptation where the thought, but not the language, is imitated, and (2) of imitation where language and thought are alike imitative.

² Book XXVI probably contained besides the εἰσαγωγή a literary polemic. As it is often difficult to distribute the surviving fragments between the two satires, and as Horace seems to borrow and fuse material from both, I have not attempted to assign the fragments absolutely except where the ascription seems reasonably certain.

³ This criticism is at least as old as the *Frogs* of Aristophanes; cf. 930 ff. the strictures on the ἰππαλεκτρῶν of Aeschylus.

⁴ Cf. *serpentes avibus gementur* with *anguis volucris et pinnatos*.

Lucilius evidently treated the same *τόπος* on the use of unusual words, as we may see from 650 :

si quod verbum inusitatum aut zetematium offenderam.

Offendo, here used in the sense of *invenio*,¹ is parallel to the use of *fingere* in Horace, while the loan-word *zetematium* recalls Horace's criticism (*Sat.* I, 10, 20) on Lucilius's freedom in the use of Greek expressions. The *parce detorta* further reënforces the same point, especially as Horace's own coinage *cinctutis* is a natural Latin formation. That Lucilius had the conventional rhetorical treatment on the ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων, under which the use of loan-words and the poet's right to coin new words were defended, becomes even clearer upon comparison with the preceding line 649, which I believe taken with this line refers to a grammatical, not to a philosophical, controversy :²

quid ni et tu idem inlitteratum me atque idiotam diceres.

So Horace in verse 55 ff. :

Ego cur, adquirere pauca
si possum, *invideor*,³ cum lingua Catonis et Enni
sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum
nomina protulerit?

In lines 86-130 Horace sets forth the theory of the *verborum colores*, from the proper variation of which we attain *decus* or, as we should say, a good style. The style, he says, must harmonize (86-98) with the literary form or εἶδος. The tragic and the comic style are contrasted, yet even within the limits of either of these genres Horace recognizes

¹ Nonius, p. 359, 12.

² Cf. Marx, commentary *ad loc.*, but wrongly.

³ A study of the Lucilian *ἰδιώτης* (used in Plato's *Phaedrus*, 258 D) of the prose writer as opposed to the poet, and frequently of a layman in distinction from the expert, suggests that Lucilius may have defended his right to coin new words in a context similar to the Horatian, and that he may have compared himself as the abused craftsman of satire with the more honored creators of other literary forms. So Persius in the prologue, v. 6, calls himself *semipaganus*. Cf. also Horace's abused tone in *invideor* and the reference to the other Roman men of letters. The *nova rerum nomina* is not unlike *inusitatum*, and *zetematium* interpreted linguistically is not so far from Horace's line 49, especially the *monstrare abdita rerum*. To me the Horatian passage looks like a free adaptation of the Lucilian original. If *ἰδιώτης* should be regarded as standing in possible contrast with *artifex* we should have here another bit of evidence for an *εἰσαγωγή* in book XXVI.

that we may suddenly shift to the other to express fittingly a change of mood. This forms the transition to the discussion of *πάθος*, the appropriate language for the expression of the moods of grief, joy, anger, sobriety. Then follows (114-130) the discussion of the style appropriate to the traditional character types of comedy, tragedy, epic poetry, *ῥήθος*. Their language (cf. 112) must accord with their station and fortune.

Apparently the satire in book XXVI of Lucilius, devoted to a literary controversy,¹ contained a somewhat similar argument, at least in part. Lucilius first differentiated the style suitable for the *εἶδος* of satire from that of tragedy. Here he incidentally satirized the swollen diction of the tragic poet Pacuvius.² He asserted that simplicity and sincerity were the true emotional tests of style (*πάθος*).³ Such a style, the middle style as Lucilius seems to regard it, is in no sense to be considered an *ignobilitas*—much less consciously to descend to that level. So in 608:

nunc ignobilitas his mirum ac monstificabile.⁴

What seems to the tragic poet an *ignobilitas* is the expression really of the simplicity of the heart. It is not a strange, but a natural style, and will be used, by you, too, my tragic friend, when you would stir the hearts of your auditors with true pathos,⁵ 610:

Haec tu, si voles per auris pectus inrigarier.

Turning back now to Horace we find a similar argument. Horace too satirizes the tragic bombast, 95 ff., and insists that true pathos means simplicity:⁶

Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri
Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque

¹ Cichorius, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-132.

² Cf. frags. 597, 599, 601, 602, 605.

³ But no surviving fragments of Lucilius discuss the *ῥήθος* of style.

⁴ Here the *monstificabilis* satirizes the heavy compound words of tragedy. Cf. Cichorius, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁵ Notice the emphatic position of the *haec tu* which I have therefore interpreted in connection with the other evidences of a controversy as an assertion by Lucilius of the part which the simple style plays even in tragedy.

⁶ The *sesquipedalia verba*, like the *monstificabile* of Lucilius, satirizes bombastic compounds.

proicit ampullas et *sesquipedalia verba*,
 si curat cor *spectantis tetigisse querella*.

The necessity of sincerity was emphasized by Lucilius in 590 :

ego ubi quem ex praecordiis ecfero versum.

This is re-echoed in spirit by Horace, 102 :

*Si vis me flere, dolendum est¹
 primum ipsi tibi.*

Horace, however, returned later to the defence of the middle style when he outlined the style appropriate to the satyr drama, and by implication for satire, in words which recall the *ignobilitas* of Lucilius ; verses 246-247 : ²

aut nimium teneris iuvenentur versibus umquam,
 aut immunda crepent *ignominiosaque dicta*.

As Cichorius³ has seen, however, the Lucilian influence is most apparent in the concluding portion of the *Ars Poetica*. Here in lines 419-420, as the auctioneer attracts the crowd to buy his wares, so the wealthy poet really gathers to his poems those who bid highest with flattering criticism :

Ut praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
 adsentatores iubet ad lucrum ire poeta
 dives agris, dives positus in faenore nummis.

This simile is clearly borrowed from Lucilius,⁴ 1282 :

Quid ni et scruta quidem ut vendat scrutarius laudat,
 praefractam strigilim, soleam improbus dimidiatam.

¹ It is tempting to think that Horace in the words *dolendum est primum ipsi tibi* had in mind the Lucilian strictures on the artificial use of *commiseratio* in oratory, 603 :

si miserantur se ipsi, vide ne illorum causa superior
 + e loco conlocavit.

This passage is actually imitated by Persius, 83-86, but the absence of a fuller context makes it dangerous to push the coincidence in language too far.

² *Ars Poetica*, 259: in *Acci nobilibus trimetris* of tragedy seems to prove that both the Lucilian *ignobilitas* and the Horatian *ignominiosa verba* are stylistic terms.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 115-120.

⁴ Not from book XXVI. Marx places it under the unassigned frags. from I-XXV, XXVIII-XXX.

The *scrutarius* is Horace's *praeco*, the *scruta* are the *merces*, the *laudat* is the *adsentatores iubet* of the poet. The simile is introduced by *quidni*, which corresponds to the *ut* of Horace.¹

Horace then proceeds with the contrast between the *verus* and the *mendax amicus*,² closely imitated from the eisagoge of Lucilius, and relates this distinction to that between sincere and self-interested literary criticism. Thus Lucilius asserts the duty of frank criticism which the true friend will not hesitate to assume, in 611 :³

porro amici est bene praecipere, veri bene praedicere.

In Horace this function of friendly criticism is assumed by Quintilius (438), who is soon generalized into the *vir bonus et prudens* or the ideal critic (445-450). These lines read like an expansion of the thought of Lucilius :

Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertis,
culpabit duros, incomptis adlinet atrum
transverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,
fiet Aristarchus, nec dicet : "*cur ego amicum
offendam in nugis?*"

The concluding verses of the passage, as Cichorius rightly emphasizes, form a striking parallel to Lucilius, 953 :⁴

Homini amico et familiari non est mentiri meum.

¹ The same simile is used by Horace, *Epist.* II, 2, 10. Marx tentatively suggests that it belongs under book X, a satire on literary criticism which was also imitated by Horace in the *Ars Poetica*. Cf. p. 14.

² On the origin of this distinction in the commonplaces of the Stoics and Cynics, cf. my paper on Lucilius and Persius, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.*, vol. XL, p. 125, note 4.

³ I accept Cichorius's emendations of *veri* and *praedicere* which are paleographically easy and give a reading well suited to the tone of these eisagogic fragments.

⁴ Perhaps in the same context Lucilius, with his usual emphasis and redundancy, added 957 and 958, as Cichorius suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 119, note 1) :

Mihi necesse est eloqui :
nam scio Amyclas tacendo periisse.

This proverb would then characterize the dangers of relying upon the hypocritical silence of the *mendax amicus*, for, as Horace says, 451 :

Hae nugae seria ducent
in mala derisum semel exceptumque sinistre.

After the simile of the auctioneer Horace sketches the bribe which the wealthy dilettante offers; about his luxurious table flock the brood of literary parasites. How shall he distinguish between true friend and false? verses 422-425:

Si vero est, *unctum qui recte ponere possit*
et spondere levi pro paupere et eripere artis
litibus implicitum, mirabor, si sciet inter
noscere *mendacem verumque beatus amicum*.¹

This bribe of the luxurious dinner is present also in Lucilius, fragments 662, 664, 665, where we have a banquet. 664 in particular seems to breathe the condescension of the wealthy patron, *unctum qui recte ponere posset*:

Munifici comesque amicis nostris videamur viri.

The praise of such *adventatores* is like the lamentations of the professional mourners, hired and therefore excessive. So Horace, line 432:

Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt
et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sic
derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.

This simile is directly borrowed from Lucilius, 954, which clearly belongs to book XXVI:

Mercede quae conductae flent alieno in funere
praefficcae, multo et capillos scindunt et clamant magis.²

This passage completes my survey of the fragments of book XXVI.

But the indebtedness of Horace to Lucilius in the *Ars Poetica* is not confined to the two satires of book XXVI, for we have evidence of the use of considerable Lucilian material from other satires. Especially does there seem to be some evidence that Horace depended on book XXVII, although the baffling nature of the surviving fragments makes it difficult to establish so clearly the sequence of the argument for this

¹ The last line of the passage closely resembles in tone frags. 611 and 953. Cf. p. 9, *supra*.

² Notice with Cichorius the close imitation: *quae conductae*, Lucilius; *qui conducti*, Horace; *flent in funere*, Lucilius; *plorant in funere*, Horace; *multo magis*, Lucilius; *prope plura*, Horace; *capillos scindunt et clamant*, Lucilius; *dicunt et faciunt*, Horace.

book. I shall endeavor, therefore, to state my inferences with caution. Still the dedication, fragment 688, the allusion to Archilocus, 698, and the reference to the *Socratici carti* in 709, seem to show that literary discussion was found in this book also.

Line 693 was, perhaps, used by Horace :

rem cognoscas simul, et dictis animum adtendas postulo.

While the ordinary contrast between word and deed (so Marx) is, of course, not excluded as the interpretation of the fragment, the direct address *animum adtendas*, and especially the presence of *simul* seems rather to imply an insistence on two harmonious qualities such as subject-matter and style, than an antithesis. This same insistence on the importance of combining knowledge of the subject, the source of good writing (*Ars Poetica*, 309), with style, the fruit of such intellectual mastery of the material, recurs in the *Ars Poetica*, 310-311 :¹

Rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae,
verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.

But the source of moral knowledge is Greek philosophy, especially the philosophy of Socrates and the Academy which is so closely allied to life. It was the Greek poets, however, who combined inspiration with style ; therefore the Roman poet must draw his *dicta* (diction) from them, as he draws his *res* (subject-matter) from the study of philosophy. Thus Horace of the Greeks in 324 f. :

Grais ingenium, Grais dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.

In Lucilius philosophy and the artistic gift (?) of the Greeks are related in precisely the same way in 709 :

? ῥήσεις + nec sic ubi Graeci? ubi nunc Socratici carti? * quid-
quid quaeritis.

¹ Cf. Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 500, note 1. This is, of course, Cato's famous definition : Rem Tene, verba sequentur. On the related *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, cf. Radermacher, *Rh. Mus.* LIV, p. 284 ff. and LVII, p. 314, who proves its Stoic origin. So Strabo, I, 17, according to Stoic sources : οὐχ οἷον τε ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι ποιητὴν μὴ πρότερον γενηθέντα ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν. So here Horace immediately adds a definition of *virtus*, I, 311 ff., based on Stoic sources, but previously passed through the medium of Lucilius. Cf. also p. 14.

Lucilius evidently rejected the defence of the youthful poet that his mediocre work was "not so bad," 702 :

paulo hoc melius quam mediocre, hoc minus malum quam ut
pessimum.

So Horace in 372¹ with some emphasis denies the right of mediocrity to live in poetry :

mediocribus esse poetis
non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.

Lucilius, fragment 698 :

Metuo ut fieri possit : ergo <anti>quo ab Arciloco excido
denies the possibility of the animals of the field, by a reversal of nature's order, changing place with the dolphin ; this particular ἀδύνατον first appearing in Archilochus (fragment 71, H-B.).

μηδεὶς ἔθ' ὑμέων εἰσορῶν θαυμάζετω,
μὴ δ' ὅταν δελφῖσι θῆρες ἀνταμείψωνται νομὸν
ἐνάλιον καὶ σφιν θαλάσσης ἡχέεντα κύματα
φίλτερ' ἡπείρου γένηται, τοῖσι δ' [ἤδ' ἦν ὄρος].

This was possibly used as a simile to assail literary incongruity, at least we have this turn given in Horace, line 30 :

qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
delphinum silvis adpingit, fluctibus aprum.

From the tenth satire of Lucilius,² declared by the scholiast to have inspired the first satire of Persius, we have two passages to consider. The first on *dispositio* and *iunctura* closely parallels Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 45-48. Lucilius, 386 :

Horum est iudicium, crisis ut discibimus ante,
Hoc est, *quid sumam, quid non, in quoque locemus.*

So Horace :

In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis
hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.

¹ Or should we rather regard the line as a humorous recognition by Lucilius of the informal character of his own *sermones* and so parallel to Horace's humorous turn on himself in 303?

Non alius faceret meliora poemata: verum
nil tanti est.

² Cf. my article, Lucilius and Persius, pp. 121 and 124.

Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
reddiderit *iunctura* novum.¹

I turn next to scattered similarities from the other books of Lucilius. ✓ Horace both in the *Ars Poetica*, 139, and in *Epistles*, I, 2, 26, followed the doctrine found first in Lucilius that the monosyllabic close of the hexameter was less objectionable when the final word was a smaller animal. Cf. Servius on *Aeneid*, VIII, 83. Horace's famous line:

Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

✓ Lucilius, 881, is taken from a comic scene, directly rather than satirically used by Lucilius. This line according to Cichorius² is uttered by the *senex* and refers to the tricks against him played by the *adulescens*, his son, and a crafty slave. It is possibly a scene derived from the Hymnis of Caecilius:³

In me illis spem esse omnem, quovis posse me *emungi* bolo.

Horace clearly has this same scene in mind when in 236 he differentiates the style of the satyr drama from tragedy on the one hand and the *palliata*, on the other.

Nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,
ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur et audax
Pythias *emuncto* lucrata Simone talentum,
an custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.

✓ Horace also clearly accepted as did Lucilius, 437, the derivation of tragedy from *τρῦξ*.⁴ Thus Diomedes, *G. L.* 1, p. 487, 23 K:

¹ It may be — but this is not so certain — that the great Homer nodded in Lucilius (taking *quietis* as genitive of *quies*) as in Horace, and long works were then too soporific. Thus, Lucilius, 391:

Languor, *obrepsitque* pigror torporque quietis

and Horace, 358 ff.:

Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;
verum operi longo fas est *obrepere* somnum.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

³ Cf. Pseudo-Acro on the line 238, who seems to be conscious of such a scene in Lucilius, if we accept the MSS. reading.

⁴ Perhaps both were influenced by the *διδασκαλικά* of Accius, book II.

Alii autem putant a faece, quam Graecorum quidam *τρύφα* appellant, tragoediam nominatam . . . est Horatius testis (*Ars Poetica*, 275) . . . Alii <a> vino arbitrantur propterea <quod> olim *τρυξ* vinum dictitabatur a quo *τρύγγος* hodieque vindemia est, quia Liberalibus apud Atticos die festo Liberi patris vinum cantoribus pro corollario dabatur cui rei testis est Lucilius in duodecimo. Horace, 275, reads:

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse camenæ
dicitur et plaustis vexisse poemata Thespis
quæ canerent agerentque peruncti *faecibus* ora.

A comparison of lines 312 ff. with Lucilius, 1326 ff. at once shows that Horace was familiar with the passage in which Lucilius assimilated to Roman needs the Stoic doctrine of the *vir bonus* and of *virtus* as the *summum bonum*.¹ Especially the concluding lines of the fragment:

virtus id dare quod re ipsa debetur honori,
hostem esse atque inimicum hominum morumque malorum,
contra defensorem hominum morumque bonorum,
hos magni facere, his bene velle, his vivere amicum,
commoda præterea patriæ prima putare,
deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra.

Horace, 312:

Qui didicit patriæ quid debeat et quid amicis,
quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes,
quod sit conscripti, quod iudicis officium, quæ
partes in bellum missi ducis, ille profecto
reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique.

Lucilius as well as Horace was familiar with the theory of the Greek rhetoricians derived ultimately from Aristotle, that comedy (*i.e.*, the new comedy) held the mirror up to nature. In view, therefore, of the strong Lucilian coloring of the context it seems that Horace in lines 317-318 which immediately follow reproduced Lucilius's formulation of that commonplace in book XXX, 1029.²

sicuti te, qui ea quæ speciem vitæ esse putamus

¹ Probably derived from the teaching of Panaetius.

² Cf. Marx's commentary, *ad loc.*, for the rhetorical *testimonia* on this commonplace.

Nonius, who glosses *speciem* by *specimen vel exemplar*, indirectly emphasizes the closeness of the passage to Horace :

Respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo
doctum imitatore[m] et vivas hinc ducere voces.

Finally in line 42⁸ the exclamations of excessive praise, uttered by the derisor, are not without a Lucilian parallel :¹

clamabit enim : "pulchre ! bene ! recte !"

Lucilius, 805 :

Aetatem istuc tibi laturam et bellum, si hoc bellum putas.

So far I have endeavored to show (1) that the *εἰσαγωγή* to Julius Congus in book XXVI was necessarily like Horace's *Ars Poetica* addressed in terms of kindly criticism and warning to a tiro, and insisted on the importance of training and study as against mere talent.² (2) I have tried to show that both in this satire and in the literary polemic in book XXVI Lucilius formulated at least some of the laws of poetic composition which Horace follows in the *Ars Poetica*, and discusses some of the same conventional rhetorical *τόποι*.

Thus :

- I. Lucilius, 587, and Horace, 1-13. Unity and congruity essential.
- II. Lucilius, 649, 650, and Horace, 48 ff., *ἐκλογή ὀνομάτων* with special reference to new formations.
- III. Lucilius, 597, 599, 601, 602, 605, and Horace, 85-98. The differentiation of style by *εἶδος* or literary genre, with especial discussion of tragedy.
- IV. Lucilius, 590, 603, 608, 610, and Horace, 99-113, the differentiation of style in harmony with the principle of *πάθος* with especial reference to the simplicity of the middle style (satire).

(3) In the concluding portion of *Ars Poetica*, verses 419 ff., the *τόπος* of the sincere friend and critic is developed so closely in harmony with Lucilius, 611, 953, 957, 664, that we must assume that Horace was using Lucilius as his direct model.

¹ Persius, 1, 87, is still closer to Lucilius. Cf. Lucilius and Persius, p. 133.

² Lucilius, 609, 610, 611, 612, 627. Horace, especially, *Ars Poetica*, 413.

(4) Within the framework of the common rhetorical scheme the following passages may be especially noted as showing evidence of direct verbal imitation or adaptation of the thought of Lucilius:

Lucilius, 587 = *Ars Poetica*, 11-13 (imitation).

Lucilius, 608 = *Ars Poetica*, 246-247 (imitation).

Lucilius, 953 = *Ars Poetica*, 450 (adaptation).

Lucilius, 954 = *Ars Poetica*, 431 (imitation).

Lucilius, 611, 953, 954, 957, the distinction between the true and false friend = model for *Ars Poetica*, 425-450.

(5) A comparison of eleven passages, which I have discussed, shows that Horace drew also from other satires of Lucilius besides book XXVI:

I. Three passages, 693, 698, 709, come from book XXVII, evidently another important source for the *Ars Poetica*.

II. Two passages from book X: 386, 391.

It is somewhat difficult to give a compact classification, but we seem to have seven instances of imitation in which the thought of Lucilius is adopted with more or less close imitation in the verbal form, viz.: 386, 391, 693, 698, 709, 1029, 1326; one case of a similar metrical clausula, 1209, and of a similar etymology used as the basis for a literary argument, 437.

The evidence afforded by a comparison of the fragments of Lucilius with Horace's *Ars Poetica* tends to support the belief that Lucilius's theory of literary criticism was formulated according to the same rhetorical σχήματα, and under the same rhetorical influences — mainly Greek — as Horace's *Ars Poetica*. Furthermore such a detailed comparison shows by direct imitation, free adaption of words, scenes, thought, and language, that Lucilius was the first Latin exponent of many of the theories of literary criticism, hitherto regarded as peculiarly Horatian, as well as the direct model of no inconsiderable portions of the *Ars Poetica*.

It will be noticed that the evidence so far adduced has tended to supplement and confirm the thesis of my paper on Lucilius and Persius, that Lucilius stands next to Horace among the sources of Persius. I have now, I hope, given good ground for the belief that the *Ars Poetica* itself was partly shaped under Lucilian influences. Consequently, if I can show that the *Ars Poetica* itself exercised a similar influence upon the literary theory of Persius, I shall have filled in the final outlines of

the somewhat intricate threefold relation that existed between these poets.¹ I shall next consider, therefore, the relation of Horace's *Ars Poetica* to the literary theory of Persius with especial reference to the first satire.

It is to be remembered that the first satire of Persius is essentially satiric rather than eisagogic, and its argument, therefore, "tacks" rather than moves steadily to its goal. Indeed its dramatic setting is derived almost wholly from Horace, *Sat.* II, 1. We are not to expect, therefore, any strict structural parallelism with the *Ars Poetica*. Persius has rather borrowed from and fused together two Horatian sources. Nevertheless the essential agreement, not to say dependence of Persius upon Horace for his aesthetic creed, sometimes leads to a similar sequence within a given τόπος. The sequence of the τόποι, however, seems lacking in the strict coherence which Norden has established for the *Ars Poetica*. Nevertheless I shall endeavor to point out incidentally such similarities in sequence as do occur while studying Persius's borrowings in the order of his lines.

While the earlier lines of the first satire contain numerous Horatian and several Lucilian reminiscences,² it is not until we reach line 31 that the influence of the *Ars Poetica* is directly apparent.³ Here the *Romulidae saturi* are evidently a recollection of the *celsi Ramnes* of Horace,

¹ It is not my purpose to repeat examples of the direct influence of Lucilius upon Persius independent of the *Ars Poetica*, for these have been discussed in my previous paper.

² Cf. editions of Gildersleeve, Conington, Nemethy, Van Wageningen, for Horatian examples, my paper on Lucilius and Persius, pp. 126-132, for Lucilian ones.

³ Yet in the wealthy poet Persius sketches a figure which bears a certain general resemblance to the literary dilettante of the *Ars Poetica*. Horace's poet (421) is simply *dives agris, dives positus in faenore nummis*. Persius with his characteristic love of the concrete lays stress on dress and other external signs of wealth, cf. 15, 16. The audiences of both show their approval by excessive physical signs. Persius, 19:

Tunc neque more probo videas nec voce serena
Ingentis trepidare Titos, cum carmina lumbum
Intrant et tremulo scalpuntur ubi intima versu.

So in Horace, 429:

Pallescet; super his etiam stillabit amicis
ex oculis rorem, saliet, tundet pede terram.

while the movement of the verse seems to show at once imitation and self-conscious variation from the Horatian model. Persius:

Romulidae saturi, quid dia poemata narrent.

Horace, 342 :¹

Celsi praetereunt austera poemata *Ramnes*.

Thus *Romulidae* is in the first, *Ramnes* in the sixth foot. *Saturi* is a heightening with the design of producing a more sensational picture *more Persi* of the stock epithet *celsi*. In *quid dia poemata narrent* we have a change, for in the Neronian age condescending patronage has supplanted earlier patrician indifference.

In Persius, lines 32-35, we have a discussion of the tendencies in contemporary elegiac poetry, which Persius regards as marked by an excess of languishing grace. Horace, to be sure, discusses the elegy in 75-79, but his criticism on the proper relation between pleasure and instruction in poetry is reserved for 333, *de officio poetae*:

Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae
aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.

It seems, therefore, that the elegy of Persius is in a sense a contemporary illustration of the type of poetry marked by an excess of charm and tenderness rather parallel to Horace's *nugae canorae*, *Ars Poetica*, 322, than showing any direct influence of the Horatian discussion of elegy in 75-78.²

At the close of this passage, 41-43, Persius ironically makes his interlocutor assert that the desire for fame is universal among poets:

An erit, qui velle recuset
os populi meruisse et cedro digna locutus
linquere nec scombros metuentia carmina, nec tus?

The language is that of Horace's treatment of the *τόπος de officio poetae*, in which he maintains that true fame is to be gained by combining delight with instruction, and that the love of money destroys the poetic gift. Thus 330 ff.:

¹ Cf. also *Ars Poetica*, 416, ego mira poemata pango.

² Unless possibly the *plorabile si quid* of 34 is a paraphrase for Horace's *querimonia*, 75. So in 51 we have *elegidia*, cf. Horace's *exiguos elegos*, 77.

An, haec animos aerugo et cura peculi
cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso?

Persius changes the application of the lines, for in his day of fashionable verse-making the danger to immortal verse was not the love of money, but the love of indiscriminate praise from the nobility. Nevertheless both poets seem to betray the Roman fondness for the didactic rather than the pleasurable element in poetry.

In lines 44-62, Persius assails the indiscriminate flattery of literature and men of letters, which includes under its approval the crazy epic and the fashionable elegy. Such a praise is bestowed from a lively expectation of benefits to be received. The praise which stupid, old, bald-headed Dives receives as man of letters is one of public flattery and private jeers. This passage has several recollections of the *Ars Poetica*. Thus in line 45 :

Non ego, cum scribo, si forte quid aptius exit,
quando haec rara avis est, si quid tamen aptius exit,
laudari metuum ;

we have a recollection of *Ars Poetica*, 21-23 :

Amphora coepit
institui ; currente rota cur urceus exit?
Denique sit quodvis, simplex dumtaxat et unum.

Persius, however, changes the figure in *exit* from the potter's wheel to the egg shell and connects his words, not with the need of harmony and unity of style, but with the true poet's aversion to the indiscriminate praise of the philistine.¹ It is only in the *aptius* that he betrays his consciousness of the need of those aesthetic qualities which are Horace's main concern. His own main concern is after all rather with literature as a social phenomenon than with literature as an art.

Persius denies that the interjections of praise mean any real literary criticism in words clearly modelled on Horace's *Ars Poetica*. Persius, 48-49 :

Sed recti finemque extremumque esse recuso
"Euge" tuum et "belle." Nam "belle" hoc excute totum :

¹ Cf. Lucilius and Persius, p. 127, for discussion of Lucilius, 632; a still closer parallel.

And Horace, 426-428 :

Tu seu donaris seu quid donare voles cui,
nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum
laetitiae : clamabit enim "pulchre ! bene ! recte !"

Persius proceeds with a series of dramatic pictures parallel to Horace's example of the self-confident and wealthy poet, who does not recognize that *ingenium* is worthless without *ars*, and that the latter is developed only by earnest study (*Ars Poetica*, 408-415). Such a poet is peculiarly liable to mistake the flatterer for the friend and so lose the benefit of formative criticism. The hint of literary complacency given by Horace in 416 : *ego mira poemata pango*, is expanded into a series of concrete pictures by Persius. We have the Iliad of Attius, 50 ; the *elegidia*, 51, dictated by the *crudi proceres*; in fact, all the products of the shallow conceit and undisciplined enthusiasm of the *citrus couch*, 53. In short, though Persius is, as usual, more concerned than Horace with satirizing the social conditions which breed poetry of this type, his conclusion negatively put is the same as Horace (413-415) that true poetry cannot spring from luxury or ease. In drawing these pictures he frequently uses the *Ars Poetica*. In line 50, the *elegidia*¹ may possibly be a deliberate variant for the *exiguos elegos* of *Ars Poetica*, 77. In line 53, the *calidum scis ponere sumen* is a concrete heightening of (422) :

Si vero est, unctum qui recte ponere possit.

Similarly *Ars Poetica*, 426 :

Tu seu donaris seu quid donare voles cui,
is paralleled by the more vivid 54 : ²

Scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna.

It is not, however, until we reach line 433 :

Derisor vero plus laudatore movetur,

that we realize what the sensational Persius really can do in the way of dramatizing a Horatian precept. From this line surely grew the picture of the poor *dives poeta* (56-62), enlightened by the frank Persius as to his own true nature as seen and discussed by his suite of *derisores*. Compare especially 58 ff. :

¹ Cf. also p. 18, note 2.

² A verbal imitation of Horace, *Epist.* 1, 19, 37.

O Iane, a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit,
nec manus auriculas imitari mobilis albas,
nec linguae, quantum sitiāt canis Apula, tantae.
Vos, o patricius sanguis, quos vivere fas est
Occipiti caeco, posticae occurrere sannae.

Here the *vos o patricius sanguis* is, of course, modelled on Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 291, with deliberate change *more Persi*.

Vos, o
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite quod non
multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque
praeseptum deciens non castigavit ad unguem.

Here the wretched patrician poet of Persius certainly points the moral to Horace's insistent demand for erasure, *litura*, and the file, *limae labor*, although this part of the Horatian lines is not directly imitated. Persius's picture, on the contrary, is more in the spirit of *Ars Poetica*, 437 :

Si carmina condes,
numquam te fallent animi sub volpe latentes.

This power of seeing beneath the surface Persius's poet, who lives *occipiti caeco*, quite fails to attain.

In lines 62-68, Persius attacks the perverse fondness of his age for the grand style with its softness of rhythm and smoothness of finish, and the indiscriminating use of this single style for the most diverse themes. He describes this flawless monotony of finish in line 64 ff. :

Quis enim, nisi carmina molli
nunc demum numero fluere, ut per leve severos
effundat iunctura ungues?

This is borrowed and elaborated from Horace's¹ *praeseptum deciens non castigavit ad unguem*. By *iunctura* both writers seem to refer to the proper ordering of the verbal and rhythmic sentence elements.²

¹ Cf. *supra*, for whole passage.

² We may note in passing that in this passage Persius subscribes to Horace's canon of the *operum colores* (cf. *Ars Poetica*, 86-130). It is because the grand style of epic has encroached upon every other literary form (cf. Persius, 67) that the poetry of the day is without true style or *decus*. True style involves variation of the *colores* to suit the *ēthos*. This doctrine is implicit in Persius, as it is explicitly stated in the *Ars Poetica*, 86-98. Cf. p. 23 for this same criticism as applied to tragedy.

Persius proceeds with the discussion of literary forms, epic poetry, 69-75, drama, 76-82, oratory, 83-87. This discussion of forms is followed by an examination of metre, 92-102. So Horace in the rubric which Norden calls *de generibus artis poeticae*, 131-294, treats of epic, 136-152, drama, 153-294, and of the development of the iambic trimeter within the dramatic γένος. Persius shows two variations from this Horatian sequence. First, apparently under the influence of Lucilius, he adds in verses, 83-87, a passage on oratory.¹ Second, as the undue development of epic poetry was the fashion of the Neronian age, he substitutes a discussion upon metre and the technique of epic (92-102) for Horace's discussion on the metre of tragedy.

We begin with his discussion of epic which harks back for several details to Horace's *Ars Poetica*, 14-18:

Inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis
 purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter
 adsuitur pannus, cum lucus et ara Dianae
 et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros
 aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus.

These lines of Horace, as Norden has shown (pp. 489-490), are from a passage on *de tractatione argumentorum* in which Horace shows that the true difficulty of literary composition is not in *inventio* proper, but rather in *tractatio* as defined by the *auctor ad Herennium*, II, 27: Nam fere non difficile invenire, quid sit causae adiumento, difficillimum est inventum expolire et expedite pronuntiare.

Persius also is concerned with *tractatio*, 69:

Ecce modo heroas sensus adferre videmus
 nugari solitos Graece, nec ponere lucum
 artifices, nec rus saturnum laudare.

Here we have adaptation of the thought with occasional close verbal imitation. Notice, however, that *heroas sensus adferre* reproduces *magna professis*, the *ponere lucum* alludes to line 16, while the vivid sketch of Cincinnatus, which as a rural subject is regarded as below the plane of epic dignity, is substituted by Persius for the Horatian lines satirizing epic commonplaces.

¹ Cf. Lucilius and Persius, p. 128.

Turning to tragedy we find that Persius like Horace assails the fondness for archaic writers. Accius, 76, and especially Pacuvius, 77 ff., the latter suggested by Persius's study of Lucilius,¹ are substituted for Plautus, *Ars Poetica*, 270-274. The criticism of Pacuvius especially reads like an example under Horace's generalization of the qualities of style, 320-321, that the poet must have :

Fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
valdius oblectat populum meliusque *moratur*.

Persius, 77 :

Sunt, quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa *moretur*
Antiopa, aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta.

The Horatian lines are taken from a discussion *de instrumentis poetarum*, in which Horace insisted on combining the knowledge derived from the study of philosophy with that derived from the study of life. The tragedies of Pacuvius fit the description of Horace, for though without grace or art they are well moralized (*recte morata*), and hence hold the crowd. The verse close is evidently a recollection of Horace. The next line, 78, was suggested by the *monstrificabile* of Lucilius in 608,² of which as we have seen³ the *sesquipedalia verba* of Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 96, is another echo.

In the discussion on oratory the figure of the shipwrecked mariner is from Horace's *Ars Poetica*, 21. Persius, however, uses it to denote an insincere pathos, Horace to emphasize the need of congruence. The imitation is therefore purely verbal. Horace, lines 19-21 :

Et fortasse cupressum
scis simulare : quid hoc, si fractis enatat expes
navibus, aere dato qui pingitur ?

Persius, 88-90 :

Men moveat ? Quippe et cantet si naufragus, assem
protulerim ? Cantas, cum fracta te in trabe pictum
ex umero portes ?

Persius, however, connects his figure of the pathetic mariner with a plea for simplicity and sincerity. Here, as I suggested in my previous

¹ Cf. Lucilius and Persius, p. 127.

³ Cf. p. 7.

² Cf. Lucilius and Persius, p. 129.

paper,¹ we are dealing with the free expression of a traditional satiric creed, and while the imagery of the three authors varies, one feels that this creed must first have been formulated in its essentials by Lucilius, and then been re-expressed and re-adapted by Horace and Persius. Persius in particular as the third in the tradition now vacillates between the Lucilian and the Horatian formulation, now fuses them. The following quotations show the duty of sincerity, a subject which, as Norden shows,² is the third subdivision under the general *τόπος* of style, *de verborum coloribus*. Here sincerity is emphasized because it is necessary (*Ars Poetica*, 99-113) that language should be a sincere expression of *πάθος*, the emotional mood of the speaker. So Lucilius says, 590 :

ego ubi quem ex praecordiis ecfero versum

Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 103 :

Si vis me flere dolendum est
primum ipsi tibi³

Persius, 90 :

Verum nec nocte paratum
Plorabit, qui me volet incurvasse *querela*.

Verses 92-106 take up the criticism of *decus*, and metrical and verbal *iunctura* in epic poetry. In the verses 92-96 the interlocutor apparently quotes three lines from contemporary poetry. The first criticizes the verse tag, *Berecynthius Attis*. In the second, 94 :

Qui caeruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin,

we possibly have an example of flawless *iunctura*,⁴ for we have no elision or synaloepha. The third is praised for the handling of the spondaic fifth foot, 95 :

Sic costam longo subduximus Appennino.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 492.

³ Or for an outward expression of sympathy parallel to the Persian incurvasse *querela* (91), cf. Horace, 108 ff. :

Format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem
fortunarum habitum ; iuvat aut impellit ad iram,
aut ad humum maerore gravi deducit et angit.

⁴ Though this is true of all the verses, cf. Gildersleeve's note.

Gathering courage, the interlocutor then proceeds to criticize the opening lines of the *Aeneid* itself as harsh, for it has short words and frequent caesuras, and so is like the swollen frothy bark of the shrunken cork tree. Under this image Persius apparently with irony makes his interlocutor charge that even the *Aeneid*, the true norm of the *genus grande et grave*, is *tumidum et leve*. Persius in his own person then asks if the *Aeneid* is subject to such criticism as rough and swollen, what poetry is truly delicate? The interlocutor answers by quoting 99-102.

While we have no verbal imitation of the *Ars Poetica* in these lines, it is to be noticed that the structure of the heroic hexameter and the epic style is criticized by Horace. Just as Persius in line 95 criticizes a pretentious line with a spondaic fifth foot, so Horace in lines 137-140¹ ridicules the grandiloquence of the line of the cyclic poet with its mouth-filling turgidity:

“Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.”

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

Although Persius's spondee has no strict parallel in Horace, we may, nevertheless, recall that Horace himself, following the dictum of Lucilius, ironically coins a monosyllabic close.² Horace's model for epic *decus* (qui nil molitur inepte, 140) is Homer, as Persius's in spite of his obscuring irony is the *Aeneid*. In Persius, then, as well as Horace, we have criticism of offenses against the appropriate *decus* of the heroic style, metrical and verbal. The monosyllabic close of Horace and the spondaic line of Persius fall technically under *iunctura*, while both writers quote examples of turgidity.

The concluding lines of the first satire, 107-134, go back rather to Lucilius and the other satires of Horace for their inspiration. We have, however, traces of the study of the *Ars Poetica* in three places, all in the passage 107-114. In lines 106-107, Persius makes his interlocutor object to the criticism of biting truth offered him by the poet. That is to say, the interlocutor takes precisely the attitude which Quintilius, Horace's model of sincere criticism, refuses to take, while Persius in the preceding lines (103-106), in the knowledge that biting criticism

¹ Persius himself, with his fondness for extremes, seems to apply the same criticism ironically to the *Aeneid* itself in *spumosum et cortice pingui*.

² Cf. p. 13.

may bring revision, is a good enough Aristarchus to satisfy even Quintilius. Entirely without verbal imitation, therefore, lines 103-106 represent the satiric expression of the same literary doctrine as Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 445-450 :

Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendit inertis,
culpabit duos, incomptis adlinet atrum
transverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,
fiet Aristarchus

And Persius :

Haec fierent, si testiculi vena ulla paterni
viveret in nobis? Summa delumbe saliva
Hoc natat in labris, et in udo est Maenas et Attis,
Nec pluteum caedit, nec demorsos sapit unguis.

Both Quintilius and Persius, therefore, refuse on principle to say (cf. *Ars Poetica*, 450), "Why should I offend my friend in trifles?" :

Nec dicet: "cur ego amicum
offendam in nugis?"

But the interlocutor of Persius like the *mendax amicus* is quite willing to say this, and does in 107 :

"Sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere vero
auriculas?"

Still if the poet insist both Quintilius and Persius will let him continue on his path of self-satisfaction, Quintilius with philosophic indifference, Persius with a parting thrust of bitter irony. So Horace, 442 ff. :

Si defendere delictum quam vertere malles,
nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem,
quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.

Persius, 110 ff. :

Per me equidem sint omnia protinus *alba*.¹
Nil moror. Euge omnes, omnes bene, mirae eritis res.

¹ With *alba* contrast *Ars Poetica*, 446 :

Incompta adlinet atrum
transverso calamo *signum*.

Finally Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 470 ff., though taken from the picture of the *furens poeta* and used in a different context, is evidently the verbal source of Persius, 113-115. Horace:

Nec satis apparet cur versus facit et; utrum
minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
moverit incestus.

Persius uses the lines sardonically of the noble poets of the Neronian epoch, who must be sacrosanct so far as criticism is concerned. The tone of both poets smacks of Lucilian coarseness.

Hoc iuvat? "Hic," inquis, "veto quisquam faxit oletum."
Pinge duos anguis: "Pueri, sacer est locus, extra
meite": discedo.

It is worth noticing, finally, that in the concluding lines of the satire, 123-134, where Persius posits the literary training essential for the reader for whom he will write, he gives us by indirection—for evidently these are the authors who have moulded his own style—the same *τόπος*, *de instrumentis poetarum*, which Horace has in 306-323.¹ We find, however, certain significant variations from the Horatian canon. Horace in these lines insisted first that the poet must draw his stuff from the study of Socratic philosophy, 310-316; second, from the study of the new comedy, 317-318, because the one is a guide, the other a true picture of life; third, 323-325, Horace emphasized in distinction from the Roman attitude the value of the Greek View of Life. Now Persius, who, as we have seen, speaks throughout the satire as the literary satirist rather than the literary critic, holds rather to the Lucilian tradition. His reader too must sympathize with the Greek, 127 ff.:

Non hic qui in crepidas Graiorum ludere gestit
sordidus et lusco qui possit dicere: "lusce,"
seque aliquem credens, Italo quod honore supinus
frerit heminas Arreti aedilis iniquas.

Persius, however (cf. 123-126), like Lucilius, his model, to this extent sets comedy before philosophy, but his comedy, unlike Horace's, is not

¹ Lines 129, 130 seem to be introduced (possibly a Lucilian echo, cf. Lucilius and Persius, p. 134) to contrast the quantitative philistinism of the Romans with Greek devotion to ideas. Compare the mathematical lesson in *Ars Poetica*, 325-330.

the New Comedy, but the Old. His philosophy, moreover, is not that of the polished and urbane academy, but, 131-133, that of the homely and practical cynic.

We may now turn to traces of the influence of the *Ars Poetica* in the other satires. These are inconsiderable with the exception of the passage at the beginning of the fifth satire, 1-20, which I shall next consider.

Persius begins as if, like the writers of epic — or tragedy, too, he adds — he would invoke the muse for one hundred tongues. But he checks himself, or rather, is checked by his shadowy interlocutor, with the reminder that it is needless for him to strain deliberately to produce epic effects, 5 f. :

Aut quantas robusti carminis offas
ingeris, ut par sit centeno gutture niti?

So Horace in the *Ars Poetica* had also objected to the straining for effect visible in the cyclic poet, 138 f. :

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

While there is no conscious imitation, the thought is quite the same as in Horace. The gaping mouth (*hiatus*) of Horace is opened wider still in Persius to cram down dumplings of manly verse that afterwards it may be able to strain with one hundred throats — *niti* is parallel to *parturient* — for its grand utterance.

Persius like Horace or rather *from* Horace sees a second danger in the grand style of tragedy. It is about the heights of language that the mists of unintelligibility and empty pretentiousness gather, 7 :

Grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legunto.

This is, of course, the *Ars Poetica*, 230 :

Aut, dum vitat humum, *nubes et inania captet*.

There Horace characterizing the style of the satyr play — was satire too in his mind? — argues that it should be a mean, should not descend to the level of *merus sermo* (midget in obscuras humili sermone tabernas, 229) on the one hand, or mount to cloudy unintelligibility on the other. In the next two lines of Persius also the stock examples of tragic themes, the meals of Procne and Thyestes are both found as in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, 186 and 187.¹ Persius :

¹ Cf. also *Ars Poetica*, 91, *cena Thyestae*.

Si quibus aut Procnes aut si quibus olla Thyestae
fervebit saepe insulso cenanda Glyconi.

And Horace :

Aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.

Then follow two lines suggested in part by the image of the bellows in Horace, *Sat.* I, 4, 19. The style of Persius is not to be a mechanical straining for the *os magna sonaturum*, nor yet to be marked by an absurd dignity. The thought of line 12 :

Nescio quid tecum grave cornicaris *inepte*,

is evidently the same as Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 140 :

Quanto rectius hic qui nil molitur *inepte*,

the avoidance of pretentious straining for effect which destroys the true *decus* or appropriateness of a literary form.

Persius ends his definition of what the satirist's style is *not* by line 13 :

Nec scloppo tumidas intendis rumpere buccas,

which is amplified clearly from Horace's characterization of the grand style, appropriate for anger even in comedy, 93-95 :

Interdum tamen et vocem cōmoedia tollit,
iratusque Chremes *tumido* delitigat ore.

Then follows Persius's positive definition of his own style, 14 :

Verba togae sequeris iunctura callidus acri,
ore teres modico.

The argument of this passage is essentially that of Horace in the *Ars Poetica* in two passages, 47-48 and 240-244. From the first of these passages we see that Persius like Horace lays stress on the truth of *curiosa felicitas*, the art which consists in using the words of every day life in such loving combinations of word, sentence, and rhythmic elements as to produce the pleasing effect of complete and pleasant novelty :

Dixeris egregie, *notum* si callida verbum
reddiderit *iunctura* novum.

The *verba togae* then of Persius have nothing directly to do with the *fabula togata*. The phrase is simply the counterpart of the *verbum notum* of Horace. Similarly in 240-243 :

Ex *noto* fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
 speret idem, sudet multum frustra¹que laboret
 ausus idem : tantum *series iuncturaque pollet*,
 tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.

In this second passage, as I have already shown,¹ Horace is probably attempting to determine a proper stylistic norm for satire, thought of as the Roman analogue to the satyr play, in distinction from comedy and tragedy. Satire is a middle genre based on the urbane criticism of every day human experience. *Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris* is the analogue in thought to the *ore teres modico* of Persius. If this is so, Persius's disagreement with Horace's dictum that satire was *sermo merus*,² noted by Hendrickson, *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 21, p. 139, was founded on a subsequent reversal of opinion or at least a modification made subsequently by Horace himself in the *Ars Poetica*. The style of satire as well as the satiric spirit is in the Aristotelian mean. Persius, Hendrickson says, put over against *os magna sonaturum* not the extreme antithesis of Horace, *sermo merus*, but *ore teres modico*. This is true but we should add to Hendrickson's footnote, to the effect that Horace in *Ars Poetica*, 94 and 95, gives us the extremes, a second that Horace himself gives us the means to these two extremes in 240-244 and is followed by Persius.³

Like Horace, Persius insists that the style of satire is to be drawn from common life in diction and subject; not the bloody banquets of tragedy, but the meals of the ordinary Roman citizens are its subjects.

Hinc trahe, quae dicis, mensasque relinque Mycenis
 cum capite et pedibus, plebeiaque prandia noris.

This passage is modelled on the *Ars Poetica*, 317 :

Respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo
 doctum imitatore et *vivas hinc ducere voces*.

But ordinary life is mirrored by the new comedy from which in reality Persius means to draw his diction. So far as diction is concerned, the

¹ Lucilius and Persius, p. 129.

² *Sat.* I, 4, 48.

³ "Teres" is evidently a semi-technical expression of rhetoric. Cf. Cicero, *de oratore*, III, 52, *oratio plena sed tamen teres*.

jest of Persius is, as Hendrickson has shown,¹ not to be expressed in unbecoming invective but to be an Aristotelian mean, or ἐπιδειξιότης: τῇ μέσῃ δ' ἔξει οἰκείον καὶ ἡ ἐπιδειξιότης ἐστίν, for this is the humor of the freedman. καὶ ἡ ἐλευθέρου παιδιὰ (ingenuus ludus) διαφέρει τῆς τοῦ ἀνδραποδώδους. So Persius in the next line, 16:

Doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.

Hence the *ingenuus ludus* or jest of a gentleman is the Aristotelian mean of εὐτραπeliá removed from the extreme of boorishness, which is the ἄλλειψις, and from scurrility βωμολοχία, which is the ὑπερβολή. Persius here speaks as a Horatian and in the main, so far as literary criticism is concerned, he is Horatian in his sympathies. But on the other hand he is also a Lucilian so far as the *spirit* of his satire is concerned. It is his effort to make his own satire in spirit and diction a synthesis of that of Horace and Lucilius, and in this fusion he succeeds but imperfectly. Hence we find him in the first satire, lines 123-133, a passage already discussed,² adopting a far more favorable attitude than either Aristotle or Horace to the old comedy. Here he represents³ rather the post-Aristotelian attitude of the treatises *de comoedia*, which even attributed to the old comedy and especially to Aristophanes a pleasing and liberal spirit of jest. Thus Platonius says of Aristophanes περὶ κωμ. II, Dübner; ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ Κρατίνου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιτρεχούσης χάριτος Εὐπόλιδος. So Persius's ideal for the spirit of his satire was to combine the τὸ σφοδρὸν of Lucilius with the ἡ χάρις of Horace.⁴

Finally the great characteristic of the middle style is simplicity, the true expression of the sincerity of the heart. Such a style will avoid turgidity, as both Horace and Persius agree. Persius, 19-20:

Non equidem hoc studeo, bullatis⁵ ut mihi nugis
pagina turgescat dare pondus idonea fumo.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

² *Cf. p. 27.*

³ *Cf. Hendrickson, op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁴ *Cf. Cicero, de officiis*, I, 104: duplex omnino est iocandi genus: unum inliberale, petulans, flagitiosum, obascaenum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum. Quo genere non modo Plautus noster et Atticorum antiqua comoedia set etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt.

⁵ I read *bullatis* with Gildersleeve and Conington.

Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 96 ff., has already been quoted,¹ but 97 seems especially in point:

proicit *ampullas* et sesquipedalia verba.

We have seven stray examples of purely verbal recollections of the *Ars Poetica* in the other satires of Persius which may be briefly treated. In *Satire*, II, 13, the heir suffers from scrofula and jaundice:

Namque est scabiosus et acri
bile tumet.

The same diseases are used in a simile to describe the mad poet in the *Ars Poetica*, 453:

Ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urget.

In II, 27 the *triste bidental* with deliberate change of rhythmic position is possibly from Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 471;² Persius:

Triste iaces lucis evitandumque bidental.

The Stoic definition of virtue, which had become a commonplace, since its use by Lucilius, 1326, and Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 312-316, recurs in Persius, III, 68 ff.:

Quis modus argento, quid fas optare, quid asper
utile nummus habet, patriae carisque propinquis
quantum elargiri deceat.

Also the literary commonplace that the teachings of philosophy are as wild as the dreams of delirium may possibly be influenced by Horace's description of delirium in *Ars Poetica*, 7 ff.:

Persimilem, cuius, velut aegris somnia, vanae
fingentur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni
reddatur formae.

Persius, III, 83:

Aegroti veteris meditantes somnia.

Again in III, 104, the *crassum amomum* appears to be a typical exaggeration *more Persi* of the *crassum unguentum* of the *Ars Poetica*, 375. Persius:

Compositus lecto *crassisque* lutatus *amomis*.

¹ Cf. p. 7.

² Quoted on p. 27.

Horace :

Et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver.

In IV, 16, the use of the plural form of Anticyra for hellebore was an Horatian turn originally. So in *Satires*, II, 3, 83, and *Ars Poetica*, 300.

Finally in the sixth satire, 68 ff., the *τόπος* on the lesson in mental arithmetic is used to enforce the same lesson of the need of a more idealistic training as in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, 325 ff. The beginning and close of the two scenes are especially close. Persius, 67 f. :

Faenoris accedat merces, hinc exime sumptus.

"Quid reliquum est?"

Horace, 327 ff. :

Si de quincunce remota est
uncia, quid superat? "Poterat dixisse." "Triens." "Eu."

And in 329 :

Redit uncia, quid fit?

Persius begins with addition, Horace with subtraction.

A few words may be said in conclusion. Although no numerical classification can be really satisfactory in dealing with so subtle a subject as imitation, it will, perhaps, be useful to present a numerical classification of the passages discussed in connection with Lucilius, the *Ars Poetica*, and the satires of Persius. I have classified the passages treated in this and my former paper on Lucilius and Persius¹ under four headings as follows :

- I. Lucilius and the *Ars Poetica*, a list of passages not imitated by Persius but showing the relation between Lucilius and the *Ars Poetica*.
- II. Lucilius, Horace, and Persius, a list of the passages common in identical or consciously altered form to the three authors.
- III. Horace and Persius, a list showing Persius's dependence on portions of the *Ars Poetica*, in which no Lucilian influence can be traced.
- IV. Lucilius and Persius, a list of passages imitated directly from Lucilius without the intervention of the *Ars Poetica*.²

¹ In general I include here only Lucilian echos in Persius, *Sat.* I.

² In lists I and II, I follow the order of lines in the *Ars Poetica*; in lists III and VI that of Persius, *Sat.* I; the *imitating authors* are the norm.

I. LUCILIUS AND HORACE. The purpose of the list is to show what portion of the Lucilian literary tradition Horace received in the *Ars Poetica*, but did not transmit to Persius. The second list shows what passages he both received and transmitted. We have only five passages which are directly imitated. *A. P.* 11-13 = 588; *A. P.* 247 = 608; *A. P.* 310 = 609; *A. P.* 419 = 1282; *A. P.* 452 = 954. On the other hand, we have eight passages in which the thought of Lucilius is adapted with more or less free variation in the verbal form: *A. P.* 30 = 698; *A. P.* 48-53 = 649 and 650; *A. P.* 238 = 881; *A. P.* 275-277 = 437; *A. P.* 317 = 1029; *A. P.* 323 = 709; *A. P.* 358 = 391; *A. P.* 372 = 702. We have, then, a total of thirteen passages in this list.

II. LUCILIUS, HORACE'S *Ars Poetica* AND PERSIUS, I. This list shows the persistence of the aesthetic tradition and concurrent verbal imitation from Lucilius through Horace to Persius. We have twelve passages as follows:

	L.	H.	P.
1.	632	21-23	45
2.	610	98	79
3.	597-598	95-98	76-78
4.	590	102-103	90
5.	386	242	63-65
6.	1326	312	III. 69-71
7.	664	422	53-54
8.	805	426-428	48-49
9.	805	428	87 and 49
10.	1026	442-444	110
11.	953	450	107
12.	611	450	107

These first two tables taken together illustrate strikingly the extent of the Lucilian influence under which the *Ars Poetica* was composed. In all, twenty-five of greater or shorter length have been discussed. Such a showing from a single work suggests that the whole question of the relations between Lucilius and Horace should now be re-examined in the light of the material gathered in the commentary of Marx. I hope to

make this the subject of a future study, for I believe that the material contained in the dissertations of Iltgen, Herwig, Triemel, Zawadzki, is now an inadequate collection in view of our larger present knowledge of Lucilian satire, since the studies of Marx and Cichorius. In the second place, the list affords interesting evidence of how Persius at times vacillates between the Lucilian and the Horatian formulation of literary theory, at times seeks to fuse the two. Of the twelve passages in the list Persius seems nearer Lucilius in five, viz.: 48, 53, 76-78, 87, 107. In three he is nearer Horace, viz.: 63-65, 90, 110. In four he seems to fuse Horatian and Lucilian elements, 53-54, 79, 107, III, 69-71.

III. HORACE'S *Ars Poetica* AND PERSIUS, I AND V. In this list we get a clear indication of the immediate influence of the *Ars Poetica* as a manual of poetics. This comes out quite as clearly in the passage at the beginning of the fifth satire as in the first. In the first satire we have ten passages of non-Lucilian origin, which are imitated from the *Ars Poetica*: 30 = 342 and 416, *A. P.*; 41 = *A. P.* 330-332; 45 = *A. P.* 21-23; 54 = *A. P.* 426; 61 = *A. P.* 291; 64 = *A. P.* 294; 69-75 = *A. P.* 14-18; 88-90 = *A. P.* 20-21; 91 = *A. P.* 102; 111-112 = *A. P.* 471. Adding to these the twelve passages of Lucilian coloring found in the second list, we have no less than twenty-two passages used in the first satire of Persius. Besides these twenty-two passages we have passages in the later satires of Persius which show the influence of the *Ars Poetica*. Five of these are found within the extended discussion of Persius's literary theory with which satire V begins, as follows: V, 7 = *A. P.* 230; 8, 9 = *A. P.* 187-188; 14 = *A. P.* 47-48 and 240-244; 17 = *A. P.* 317; 19-20 = *A. P.* 96. Besides these we have seven passages from the other four satires: II, 13 = *A. P.* 453; II, 17 = *A. P.* 471; III, 68-69 = *A. P.* 312 ff.; III, 104 = *A. P.* 375; IV, 16 = *A. P.* 300, and VI, 67 = *A. P.* 327.

IV. Finally in the fourth list, LUCILIUS AND PERSIUS, the conclusions of my earlier paper are confirmed by showing, in addition to the twelve passages in which the Lucilian influence was either refracted through the medium of Horace to Persius or reached him through the simultaneous study of both authors, ten passages in the first satire in which

Persius drew exclusively from Lucilius as follows: 1 = L. 9; 14 = L. 588; 26 = L. 1117; 27 = L. 1344; 83-86 = L. 603; 97 = L. 1302 and 631; 109 = L. 2 and 378; 115 = L. 1095; 119-122 = L. 651-652; 129-130 = L. 1287.

A comparative study of the three satirists, therefore, confirms the view already expressed that the ideal of Persius was to combine the invective, τὸ σφοδρόν, of Lucilius with the grace, ἡ χάρις, of Horace.

THE LATIN EPYLLION

BY CARL NEWELL JACKSON

IN one of his *Lectures on the English Poets*, Hazlitt observes with reference to an author, whom he styles sardonically "a modern Muse," "Mrs. Hannah More is another celebrated modern poetess, and I believe still living. She has written a great deal which I have never read."

Like Hazlitt, we are perhaps too prone to dismiss from our minds as unworthy of attention the earlier poetasters of Classical Literature, those of the so-called Alexandrian school, not Greeks alone, but the secondary poets of Latin literature, who at various periods strove to emulate the Alexandrian spirit. We believe, and rightly so, that the characteristic qualities of this school of literature constitute well-nigh all the undesirable elements which may but should not enter into the art of poetry,—such qualities as academicism, over-elaboration, preciosity, in short, for the list is a long one, a certain mannerism which may be described in the phrase, *curiosa infelicitas*. But we are apt to lose sight of the truth, a truth almost paradoxical, that Alexandrianism in Greece and in Rome really meant a revolt against classicism, against the hard and fast literary standards of the day, and meant, too, an attempt to bring poetry back into relation with life. In Alexandria this reaction, headed by Callimachus, as well as a counter-reaction under Apollonius of Rhodes, assumed various forms and aspects. There are two phases of this movement which are intimately related to the subject of this paper. I allude to the predominance of the short poem and the reëstablishment and development of romance.

Callimachus, the literary dictator of his age, had summed up the sentiment which then prevailed in his familiar dictum that "a big book was a big nuisance," inspired, it may be, by the motive which led Poe to declare in his essay on *The Poetic Principle* that the day of the epic was over and that no very long poem would ever be popular again. Apollonius of Rhodes had taken the heroic epic and refashioned it,

breathing into it the spirit of love and adventure and creating a new form, the romantic epic.

Now neither the short poem nor the romantic spirit was in the third century B. C. a novelty in Greek literature. Mimnermus, for that matter, had composed brief poems charged with romantic feeling. So had Simonides. But the unromantic temper of the Greek had not found the sentimental feeling for women a congenial or artistic theme. It is a significant fact that it remained for poets who lived on the borders of the Hellenic world to take such a subject, develop it, and give it an abiding place in literature. The Sicilian Stesichorus has been called the first of romantics, Antimachus of Colophon, after the lapse of two centuries, rediscovered the possibilities of such a theme, and Philetas of Cos introduced it into Alexandrian literature. From this time on love became a paramount theme in verse and prose.

Apollonius, as has just been said, created a new type of epic, the romantic. These Alexandrians were ever trying to create new poetic forms, and to bring the subjects of their poetry into close touch with the world in which they lived. The history of the Greek and the Latin literatures is a record of the genesis and establishment of literary forms, and of the imitation and development of these forms by writers of succeeding ages. The Alexandrian age itself was fruitful in creating or developing various types, such as the pastoral, the didactic poem, the elegy, the romantic epic, and the epyllion, and of these types the most, in accord with the Alexandrian literary standards, were brief in form and romantic in content. For what more fitting subject in an individualistic age than the most individual of all the passions?

The epyllion itself is a variation of the epic type which in its broadest sense embraces all strictly narrative poetry dealing objectively with human experiences. But the epyllion is descriptive in character rather than narrative, the narrative elements being used to aid in setting forth the descriptive. The name by which this minor form of poetry is designated is rather of modern than ancient currency. Aristophanes had used¹ the word depreciatively to characterize the poetry of Euripides, trivial as compared with the ponderous lines of Aeschylus.² The word

¹ As *Ach.* 398; *Pax*, 532; *Ran.* 942.

² For a somewhat similar use of the word, see Clem. Al., *Strom.* 3, 3, 24.

is found again in Athenaeus, who used it in the sense of a "short poem."¹ Elsewhere in literature it is not found, so far as I know, nor was it in vogue in antiquity to define a literary genre. So long as the Greeks had these forms, they were not particular about devising names for them; *ποιημάτων* seems to have been the term they used, nothing very specific. But they were particular in following the conventions adopted in these forms and in giving to each form its distinctive character.

The word epyllion to-day stands for a form of poetry, but to define this type is a more difficult task than it at first seems. For we are hampered at the outset by the loss of almost all the many epyllia in which both Greek and Latin literature abounded. There remain to-day only two or three among the idyls of Theocritus, two of the poems of Moschus, and in Latin the sixty-fourth poem of Catullus, the *Culex* and the *Ciris* in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and the Aristaeus episode in the fourth book of the *Georgics*. Indeed so uncertain are modern scholars about the real nature of this minor form of poetry that there is no unanimity amongst them in classifying the poems of this sort in Theocritus. The loss of these epyllia is the more to be deplored, for it leaves us with material almost too scant upon which to base a judgment or formulate a generalisation. Yet in the third century B. C. in Greek literature and in the first century B. C. in Latin literature, the epyllion was a favorite vehicle of poetic art, and there have come down to us from the earlier period the names of Philetas, Callimachus, Nicias, Bion, Alexander Aetolus, Euphorion, Nicaenetus, Nicander, and finally Parthenius. He it was who transplanted the germinal principles of the Alexandrian school of literature to Rome, where he became the impelling force in that coterie of young Republican poets whom Cicero scornfully called "cantores Euphorionis." Thoroughly imbued with these Hellenistic ideals, the Latin poets devoted themselves to the composition of these miniature epics, until the success of the Aeneid drove the epyllia from the field. The most famous of these poets, with the exception of Catullus, was Helvius Cinna, the author of a *Smyrna*, upon which tradition said that he had spent nine years of labor. There were besides Valerius Cato with his *Dictynna*, Licinius Calvus and his *Io*, Cornificius, to whom the

¹ 2, 65 A. ὅτι τὸ εἰς "Ὀμηρον ἀναφερόμενον ἐπύλλιον, ἐπιγραφόμενον δὲ 'Ἐπικικλίδες, κτλ.

Glaucus is accredited, and Caecilius, the friend of Catullus, author of an epyllion on Cybele.

Like their predecessors and models in Alexandria, these youthful poets had revolted against literary traditions, represented in this instance by the Ennian school of literature, just as their successors, a century or so later, the poets of the Silver Age, were to rebel against the rhetorical epic of a Lucan. The epyllion then was born of revolt; it constituted a protest against the methods pursued by the poets of the old-fashioned epic.

What now are its characteristics? As a pendant of the epic group, it naturally conserved some of the features ordinarily associated with epic poetry. But these features, it will be seen, were not of the essence of the epic; they were mainly some of the epic ornaments hallowed by Homeric usage so that they became part and parcel of epic style. The range and the scope of the epyllion precluded perforce the treatment of a subject of great magnitude in character or of a great movement national in extent. The epyllion, however, drew its subjects from the same store-house of Greek myth and legend, and like the Homeric epic it dealt with humanity, its emotions and its passions. But the brief compass of the shorter poem, none probably ever exceeding in length a book of Homer, could include within its sphere only a segment, and a small segment at that, of the Homeric world. To judge from the extant Greek and Latin epyllia and the titles of the lost poems, the epyllic poets chose for the most part a romantic theme, generally the unrequited love of a woman for a man, as the subject of their verse, and made their own little epics romantic, as Apollonius had made his larger work. Hence a classification, based on the influence exerted by both the Homeric and the Apollonian epic, into that of the heroic and the romantic epyllion may be proposed. Into these classes the extant Greek and Latin epyllia easily fall.

We are interested at present mainly in this second class, the romantic epyllion, but a word should be said first about the rarer of these two types, the heroic epyllion, as I have chosen to call it. This type exists only in Greek literature. Examples are the twenty-fourth and the twenty-fifth idyls of Theocritus, both dealing with the Heracles saga, the former describing the earliest exploit of the hero in slaying the snakes sent against the infant by Hera, the maleficent deity of the epic, the latter narrating

the visit of Heracles to Augeas, and closing with the hero's own account of his battle with the Nemean lion. The twenty-fourth idyl is largely descriptive — in most of the epyllia the epic narrative has given way to description — and it might well have been a lay such as the bard Demodocus sang to his courtly audience. Here are the epic formulae, the celestial machinery, the prophecy, the ornamental epithets, such elements as recall unmistakably the Homeric heroic epic. In the twenty-fifth idyl the Homeric tone is even more prominent. Homeric in its fidelity to nature is the characterization of the loquacious husbandman, and Homeric too is the realization of the all-pervading presence of the gods and their intervention in human affairs. This idyl is a masterly imitation of the style of the *Odyssey*, an epic fragment told in the leisurely manner of the primitive epic poet.

But this type of epyllion was too reminiscent of the unpopular and antiquated heroic epic. The more common type is the romantic. Who it was that first fused the epic narrative of facts with the lyric expression of innermost feeling and created a new poetic form, one cannot say. It may have been Stesichorus who was interested in so many different literary forms, and who told in amatory verse of the maiden Calyce who was spurned by her lover Euathlus and died by her own hand. It may have been Philetas of Cos who, following in the footsteps of the Sicilian poet, took over the romantic theme and by the popular success of his own epyllia established the form in literature. The works of both poets are lost. It is impossible, therefore, to render judgment. We do possess, however, a poem which was to exercise over subsequent Greek and Latin epic literature an influence of the widest extent. In the third book of the *Argonautica* Apollonius had analyzed the growing love of Medea for Jason, from her mild interest in the hero to overpowering passion. He had stamped his own genius upon the work and drawn the model by means of which the long line of poets from Catullus to Claudian was enabled to envisage their characters. The Greek and the Latin epyllia belong, then, broadly speaking, to the poetry of sentiment.

What may be said of the form of the epyllion? As the Homeric poems in their cosmic sweep had surveyed the whole of human experience, as the epic of all literary forms is the most nearly universal, in that it comprises, besides the epic element, the dramatic, the lyric,

the satiric, the pastoral, so the epyllion, a microcosm as it were, tends in its narrower field to treat its theme (in the case of the romantic epyllion, its one theme of love) in as manifold and comprehensive a manner. It is an essential feature of the Alexandrian school of poetry to allow one literary form to encroach upon the province of another. Hence the epyllion is apt to be a complex of at least two different forms. The twenty-fifth poem of Theocritus, for instance, is really an epic idyl within a pastoral setting. By idyl I mean an εἰδύλλιον in its original and proper sense of a short poem highly wrought. The thirteenth idyl, the episode of Heracles and Hylas, is an epyllion set in an elegiac frame. The epic manner of following one narrative to its conclusion before beginning another is here duly observed. Epic too is the simile in verse 61, commencing "As when a lion." But the idyl opens and closes with reflections on love, marked by the subjectivity and the monitory tone of elegiac verse.

It remained, however, for the Latin poets, ambitious to be original, to develop this idea of merging two forms in one poem, or rather of setting one form within another. In his sixty-fourth poem Catullus has put the lyric lament of Ariadne, descriptive entirely, within a piece of pure narrative, that is, a romantic within an epyllion almost heroic, and then, to boot, following the heroic epyllion an epithalamium which is essentially a variation of the elegiac genus. The Aristaeus episode in the fourth book of the *Georgics* follows a somewhat similar arrangement, in that the lament of Orpheus is preceded and followed by the Aristaeus epyllion. The author of the *Ciris* outdid all his fellow-poets by combining epic, lyric, and dramatic elements, and then adding to the mixture a bit of didactic verse, and closing this effort with a metamorphosis, a form distinct in itself. Finally in the *Culex*, the epyllion lies side by side with the pastoral. None of these poets, it would seem, had learned the Theocritean or the Virgilian art (as it appears in the *Aeneid*) of weaving these separate threads into a single texture. The step from epic to lyric, or epic to pastoral, or epic to elegy is too abrupt, with the result that unity of effect is destroyed.

The Latin epyllion, therefore, is a composite poem. Is it possible to discriminate it from a form like the elegy which of all lyric forms most resembles the epic in style, diction, and metre, especially the objective, narrative elegy of Alexandria and Rome, which dealt almost exclusively

with the psychology of passion and sentiment? Can some epistles, for example, in the *Heroides* or some parts of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid be regarded as epyllia? The personages in both elegy and epyllion belong to the same world, gods and heroes, humanized, however, in harmony with the new realistic spirit then permeating literature. Very rarely are human beings introduced, such as the old woman in the *Hecale* of Callimachus, or the shepherd in the *Culex*. Indeed, there are striking similarities between both epyllion and elegy, not only in content but in manner of presentation. But these forms were, I believe, regarded as distinct in ancient literary criticism, and the essential difference between the objective, narrative elegy and the romantic epyllion is largely one of style. The latter may be briefly defined as a short poem of mythological content in hexameters and in the epic manner. The meter alone is an important criterion which would serve to distinguish an epyllion from an elegy. But more than that, the epic manner, if consistently employed, is sufficient to discriminate the epyllion from all other forms of the idyl.

Now this epic manner manifests itself in various ways. In the *Medea* episode, for example, at the beginning of the seventh book of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid rises for the moment into the epic style with an *ecce* in verse 104 and a simile in verse 106, just as Juvenal in his fourth satire¹ affects the large utterance, the *dignitas et amplitudo*, to use a phrase of Gellius (6, 14, 3), with his invocation of Calliope and the Pierides, and his use of *ut perhibent* (34-36 and 17). Similarly Propertius (1, 20) tinges his elegy with epic coloring, or, to be more exact, sets an epyllion composed in elegiac verse, within an elegiac frame. His theme is identical with that of the thirteenth idyl of Theocritus, and the Theocritean influence is very apparent. The prologue contains an address to his friend Gallus in the elegiac mode, comparable with the address of Theocritus to Nicias: then in verse 17 Propertius with a *namque ferunt* begins in epic style to tell of the loss of Hylas; the poem closes with an epilogue of two lines distinctly elegiac in tone.

Other forms of literature, therefore, may be marked at times by the epic style, and yet not be of the epos. What then is the epic manner

¹ I owe this reference and many stimulating suggestions to the kindness of Professor A. A. Howard.

as applied to the Latin epyllia? We must confine ourselves now to the more important considerations.

Unlike the extant Greek epyllia, the Latin poems, in imitation of the epic, begin with an invocation: the *Culex*, of Apollo, the Pierides, and Pales, thus revealing epic and pastoral inspiration; the *Ciris*, of the Pierides; the Aristaeus episode, of the Muses. The only exception is to be found in Catullus, who being nearer the stream of Alexandrian influence, follows the Greek custom and begins his narrative *in medias res*. So too he closes the central episode of his poem by leaving Ariadne at the moment when her own happiness is secured by her divine marriage, adhering therein to the method pursued by the great epic poets of all time, who with the sense of life ever going on never really complete their poems. The *Iliad* closes, it will be remembered, with an indication of the death of Achilles and the capture of Troy, the *Aeneid* with a hint of the future fortunes of Aeneas, and almost the last line of *Paradise Lost* reads:

The world was all before them.

Theocritus too, artist that he was, had divined the secret and at the end of his Heracliscus idyl had forecast the future of the hero. But the lesser poets, or, if we follow tradition, the youthful poet of the *Ciris* and the *Culex*, failed to recognize this cardinal principle of the epos.

Among other conventions which gave a decidedly epic tone to these epyllia are the catalogues, the similes, the supernatural machinery, the prophecies, the descriptions of Hades, the apostrophes, the epithets and the formulae, the sensuous charm of proper names, the use of such epical phraseology as *ut perhibent, fertur, dicuntur*, etc., to show dependence on Greek originals, or of *ecce* to bring events in Apollonian fashion vividly before the mind of the reader, as well as the stereotyped locutions of which the *est locus* is typical, and finally the objectivity of treatment which the epic poet always observes. Such ornaments as these are too familiar to need exposition. Not all, by any means, are to be found in any one of these epyllia; out of the assortment the poet selected such as were germane to his purpose, Catullus very sparingly, for his poem is largely descriptive, Virgil more widely, for the narrative element in the Aristaeus episode predominates.

Such, in brief, are some of the stock devices which go to prove the relationship of this minor form of the poetic art to its professed model.

There is one other phase of the Latin epyllion which demands attention, and that is the ἡθοποιία, or the description of a character in a given situation.

The reëstablishment and development of romance, as has been said, was one aspect, and a very important aspect, of the whole Alexandrian movement. The antipathy felt by the poets of the classical age to the introduction of love as a theme in literature had been followed in Hellenistic times by a general recognition of the part played by love in human life. The poet who was largely instrumental in effecting this change of feeling and in creating the romantic treatment was Apollonius of Rhodes. The impulse which he gave towards the development of the Latin epic and epyllion is more powerful than is commonly believed. It is a matter of general knowledge that his Medea inspired the Ariadne of Catullus, the Scylla of the *Ciris*, the Dido of the *Aeneid*, and the Medea of Valerius Flaccus, and that his Chalciope, the confidante of Medea, became the prototype of the Carme of the *Ciris*, and the Anna of the *Aeneid*. Such a tribute of imitation only points to the truth that the episode of Medea and Jason was considered by poets of after time as an innovation in the sphere of the epic, the result of which was to give a new direction to the main course of poetry.

But even in matters of detail the Latin poets followed along the lines laid down so authoritatively by the author of the *Argonautica*. On the portraiture of Medea Apollonius had lavished all his art. Henceforth she became the type of the love-lorn maiden, not only in Greek and Latin epic, but also in the Latin romantic epyllion and elegy. Herein epyllion and elegy met on common ground and became closely allied in respect of content and the handling of theme. The poets of the *Culex* and the *Ciris* imply almost as much in their proems, where they disclaim, rather apologetically, their ability to compose a *dignum carmen*, such as an heroic epic; instead they would choose a lighter theme, they would sing simply of love. *of a mosquito?*

Lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia,

says the author of the *Culex* in verse 1.

quamvis interdum ludere nobis
et gracilem molli liceat pede claudere versum,

says the author of the *Ciris* in verses 19 and 20, using, it will be noticed, the adjective *molli* to define his style, a stock epithet, by the way, of the elegiac mode. Romance, then, was not yet deemed a subject worthy of a Latin epic; the fourth book of the *Aeneid* could hardly have been published by this time.

Love, therefore, is the accepted theme of the Latin epyllion and elegy, and Medea became the type of the maiden abandoned by her lover. The very traits which entered into the Apollonian delineation of her moods were repeated again and again by subsequent Greek and Latin poets. With sympathetic insight Apollonius had pictured the dramatic conflict of the great forces of love and duty which raged within the heart of his heroine.

Like the maidens in the Greek prose romances, Medea falls suddenly in love with Jason, as soon as she beholds him (*Arg.* 3, 275 sqq.). So the Ariadne of Catullus with Theseus (64, 86):

hunc simul ac cupido conspexit lumine virgo.

So Scylla in the *Ciris* with Minos (163):

Quae simul ac venis hausit silentibus ignem
et validum penitus concepit in ossa furorem.¹

At their first meeting both Medea and Jason modestly lower their eyes (*Arg.* 3, 1022):²

ἄμφω δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν τε κατ' οὐδεὸς ὄμματ' ἔρειδον
αἰδόμενοι.

In this attitude are they represented by Valerius Flaccus in his own *Argonautica* (7, 407):

Ergo ut erat vultu defixus uterque silenti

¹ Cf. the swift Elizabethan fashion of which Rosalind tells Orlando (*As You Like It*, Act 5, Scene 2):

"Your brother and my sister no sooner met, but they looked; no sooner looked, but they loved; no sooner loved, but they sighed; no sooner sighed, but they asked one another the reason; no sooner knew the reason, but they sought the remedy: and in these degrees they have made a pair of stairs to marriage," etc.

Compare also Virgil's words in the *Aeneid* 1, 613 and 657 sqq.

² Cf. also *ibid.* 1008 and 1063.

and again (*ibid.* 511):

Haec ubi dicta, tamen perstant defixus uterque,
et nunc ora levant audaci laeta iuventa.¹

The passion of love that fires Medea to forsake her kin for Jason (*Arg.* 3, 275 sq.) goads the heroines of the Latin epic, epyllion, and elegy at the thought of their faithless lovers to despair or frenzy. Thus Catullus portrays Ariadne as frantic as a Bacchante at the moment when she discovers her abandonment (64, 53):

Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe tuetur
indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores,

and (*ibid.* 60):

saxea ut effigies bacchantis prospicit, eheu.

Similarly is Scylla pictured in the *Ciris* (130):

ni Scylla novo correpta furore,

and (167):

infelix virgo tota bacchatur in urbe.

And thus Dido in the *Aeneid* 4, 300:

saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
bacchatur,

and in like manner Ariadne in the *Heroides* (10, 48):

qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo.

In close dependence upon this tradition Valerius Flaccus represents his Medea as *demens* (7, 128), and *furens* (*ibid.* 337) and again (*ibid.* 301 sqq.):

saevus Echionia ceu Penthea Bacchus in aula
deserit infectis per roscida cornua vittis,
cum tenet ille deum
.
haud aliter deserta pavet.

And so Ovid describes his Medea (*Metamorphoses*, 7, 87) as *demens*, and his Scylla (*ibid.* 8, 107) as *furibunda*.

¹ Cf. allusions in Catullus 64, 90; *Ciris* 260; and *Aeneid* 1, 561.

In their analysis of the effects of love upon these maidens, the Latin poets depict their heroines as chilled with fright or fear. Thus Carme perceives her ward Scylla (*Ciris* 251):

frigidulam iniecta circumdat veste puellam;

and (347):

noctem illam sic maesta super morientis alumnae
frigidulos cubito subnixa pendit ocellos.

So Medea in Ovid (*Metam.* 7, 135):

utque peti vidit iuvenem tot ab hostibus unum,
palluit et subito sine sanguine frigida sedit;

and Ariadne in the *Heroides* (10, 32):

frigidior glacie semianimis fui;

and Ariadne in Catullus (64, 131):

frigidulos udo singultus ore cientem.

When Medea in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius is confronted with the possible fate of being deserted in Colchis by Jason, her cheeks become bathed with tears.¹ So Ariadne in a somewhat similar situation addresses² the absent Theseus *udo ore* (Catullus 64, 131) and all the forlorn heroines follow example: Scylla in the *Ciris, genis rorantibus* (253), Ariadne in the *Heroides* (10, 55) *lacrimisque . . . profusis*,³ Medea in the *Metamorphoses* (7, 91) *lacrimis . . . profusis*, Dido in the *Heroides* (7, 185), with tears streaming down her cheeks. In a like plight is the Medea of Valerius Flaccus, *effusis fletibus* (7, 410), and Deidamea in Statius weeps at the departure of Achilles for Troy (*Achilleis* 1, 929):

cara cervice mariti
fusa novi lacrimas iam solvit et occupat artus:

¹ Cf. 3, 1063 sqq., and also 462, 673, 761, 805, 1119, and 1161.

² The address is a complaint: thus verse 130,

atque haec extremis maestam dixisse querelis.

Cf. also the *tristes querelas* of Scylla (*Ciris* 174, and 405 and 441), the *multa querens* of Aristaeus (*Georg.* 4, 320), and the *querens* of Orpheus (*ibid.* 520), with the *nec queror* of Medea (Val. Flacc. 7, 485).

³ Cf. also *ibid.* 43, 114, 138, 150.

‘Adspiciamne iterum meque hoc in pectore ponam,
Aeacide?’¹

So Calypso grieves at the loss of Odysseus (Propertius 1, 15, 9) :

at non sic Ithaci digressu mota Calypso
desertis olim fleverat aequoribus ;

and Cynthia too for her lover's absence (*ibid.* 1, 3, 46) :

illa fuit lacrimis ultima cura meis.

Cinna's Smyrna, as we learn from one of the three fragments preserved, wept from morn till dewy eve (frag. 8, Baehrens) :

te matutinus flentem conspexit Eous
et flentem paulo vidit post Hesperus idem.

Even the youth Aristaeus in the *Georgics* at the thought of being forsaken by his mother “stands in tears by ancient Peneus' wave” (4, 356).

The tragic situation in which these heroines are involved leads the poet to break through the epicist's reserve and give expression to his own sympathy. *σχετλή*, says Apollonius (3, 1113),² *infelix*, says Calvus of his Io (frag. 9, Baehrens), Virgil of his Dido (*Aeneid* 4, 68 and 450), the poet of the *Ciris* of his Scylla (155, 190, 402), and Valerius Flaccus of his Medea (7, 371). So Catullus commiserates his heroine by addressing her as *ah misera* (64, 71).

On the other hand these heroines address themselves in self-pitying style. Thus Medea speaks of herself as *δευλαίην* (Apollonius, *Arg.* 3, 464), or *δευλή* (*ibid.* 636 and 771), or *δύσμορος* (*ibid.* 783). So Ariadne in Catullus (64, 140) calls herself *miseræ*, so Dido in the *Aeneid* (4, 420 and 429), and Dido in the *Heroides* (10, 98) ; so Scylla in the *Metamorphoses* (8, 138), and Cynthia in Propertius (1, 3, 40), and Deidamea in Statius (*Ach.* 1, 939), and Proserpina in Claudian (*Rapt. Pros.* 3, 106).

Then at last when the faithless lover³ has departed, or broken his troth, or proved forgetful of duty, these love-lorn maidens have the same

¹ Cf. also *ibid.* 2, 23.

² Cf. also *ibid.* 3, 809; 4, 83 and 376.

³ Called *crudelis* by these forlorn heroines. So Eurydice in the little episode in the *Inferno* of the *Culex* (294) :

sed tu crudelis, crudelis tu magis, Orpheu ;

and even Aristaeus “called his mother cruel and named her name” (*Georg.* 4, 356). Cf. also *e. g.* Catullus, 64, 136 and 138, and Propertius, 1, 8, 16.

word on their lips. Thus Medea, though, to be sure, she was not deserted, yet she expected to be abandoned, implores Jason (Apollonius *Arg.* 3, 1069); "Be mindful of Medea, if ever thou reachest home,"¹ and again later in this same book, she addresses a similar request to him, "Be mindful of me when thou reachest Iolcus. I, at least, shall be mindful of thee" (*ibid.* 1109).² So Ariadne on finding Theseus gone calls him *immemor* (Catullus 64; 58, 123, 135, 248); so Orpheus in the Aristaeus episode is likewise called *immemor* (*Georg.* 4, 491); so Dido "prays to whatsoever gods have just and mindful regard for unrequited love" (*Aeneid* 4, 521), and affirms that "gratitude for favors of old stands firm in mindful hearts" (*ibid.* 539). So Medea implores Jason in Valerius Flaccus (7, 477):

sis memor oro mei.

So Proserpina in Claudian (*Rapt. Pros.* 3, 98) calls her mother, who has left her, *immemor*. So, finally, the gnat in the *Culex* 379, reproaches the shepherd for being *immemor* in not paying the last burial rites to the body of his little friend. Now this poem, the *Culex*, is frankly a parodic epyllion. Its author calls it a *ludus* (verse 4) and Statius recognized the parody and likened it to the *Batrachomachia* (*Silvae*, Introd. I). When therefore the gnat reproaches the thoughtless shepherd (223):

heu, quid ab officio digressa est gratia,

the poet has it in mind to parody the laments of the forlorn heroines of the romantic epic and epyllion. And so, at the end of the poem, when the shepherd had learned in his dream of the cruel and untimely death of his little benefactor, he in duty bound raised a cenotaph, *iam memor*, the poet says (394).

¹ Μνώεο δ', ἣν ἄρα δὴ ποθ' ὑπότροπος οἰκαδ' ἔκηαι,
οὔνομα Μηδείης.

² ἀλλ' οἶον τύνη μὲν ἐμεῦ, δὲ Ἴωλκὸν ἔκηαι,
μνώεο· σέο δ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἐμῶν ἀέκητι τοκῆων
μνήσομαι.

DE RINUCIO ARETINO GRAECARUM LITTERARUM INTERPRETE

SCRIPSIT DEAN P. LOCKWOOD

DE temporum ordine:¹ (1) Rinucius, dum in Graecia studiis graecis incumbit, tria opuscula convertit. (a) Luciani *Dialogum Mortuor. x.*, Bonacursio Candico dedicatum, velut testimonium disciplinae edidit, praeceptori suo Iohanni Simonaco² (vel Simeonaco) protopapae Candico palam gratias agens (cf. Rinucii Prooem.).³ (b) Aristoph. *Plutum* ca. 400-626 (vel *Peniam Fabulam*),⁴ cum in Creta transtulisset

¹ De vita et moribus Rinucii apud Traversarium et Pogium in *Epistolis* nec non apud Laur. Vallam in *Antid. in Pog.* aliisque opusculis pauca scripta videmus. Horum virorum testimonio atque ipsius Rinucii operibus notioribus, saeculo xv. male editis, rarius vero codicibus manuscriptis usi sunt scriptores qui saeculo xviii. Rinucium ab oblivione vindicarunt, scilicet Ang. Mar. Quirinus, Dom. Georgius, Apostol. Zenus, Fabricius, Bandinius, etc. Hos secuti sunt vir cl. Lessing et alii. Hac nostra aetate nihil novi addiderunt sed omissis vanis et absurdis omnia diligenter retractarunt Voigt-Lehnerdt, *Wiederbelebung d. class. Alterthums*, Berlin, 1893. Deinde Sabbadini hoc demonstravit novum, Rinucium in Creta graecis litteris studuisse (vide adn. 2). Postremo ante duos annos edita est Rinucii Vita, quae iam anno 1887 a Fran. Ravaglio scripta erat (*Rinuccio da Castiglionfiorentino*, in *Miscell. Fran. Ravagli*, Modena, Vol. I, 34-46, 65-75; vide quoque Appendicem a G. F. Gamurrinio scriptam, *ibid.* 102-104). Ravaglius omnia iterum prolixè narrat; de temporum ordine nonnulla coniectat; nova haec profert: (1) pp. 65-67, Rinucium anno 1440 bis Perusiam ad amplissima officia suscipienda invitatum; (2) pp. 73-74, Rinucium annis 1455-1456 sub Callixto III. secretarium participantem fuisse; (3) pp. 103-104, exstare inscriptionem de s. Laurentii reliquiis a Poggio anno 1434 scriptam, qua de Rinucio nostro mentio facta sit.

² R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici*, 1905, p. 64 (adn. 127) et p. 66 (adn. 142). Inter archiepiscopos Candienses ritus graeci apud Flam. Cornelium, *Creta Sacra*, Ven. 1755, p. lxvii sq. non nominatur Simonacus.

³ Hunc dialogum Romae post Eugenii IV. fugam translatum esse propter verba 'hac temporum clade' (vide Prooem.) coniecit Ravaglius, p. 45.

⁴ D. P. Lockwood, *Aristophanes in the XVth Century*, Trans. and Proc. Amer. Philol. Soc. 40 (1909), p. lvi.

(cf. Prol.), primum Matthaeo cuidam Cretensi,¹ deinde multis post annis² in Italia iterum reverendo nesciocui patri dedicavit. Christophorum quoque Bondelmontium testem habemus, qui annis 1415–1416 in Creta peregrinatus ad Nicolaum de Nicolis anno 1417 haec scripsit:³ “prope ad Austrum magnum et fertilissimum vidi Campum, cuius Rainucius meus affabilis sotius fabulam peniam dictam extraxit atque de eo omnia enarravit.”⁴ (c) Plat. *Critonem*, Manuelli Palaeologo (obiit 1425) dedicatum, in Graecia ante reditum suum convertit (cf. Prooem.). In Italiam autem eum iam anno 1423 rediisse ex Ambrosii Traversarii celeberrima epistola⁵ constat. (2) Rinucius in Italiam reversus, postquam Gabrieli Condulmaro legato Bononiae se adiunxit, Plutarchi opusculum *Πρὸς ἡγεμόνα ἀπαίδευτον* huic patrono dedicavit, qui “rediens legatus de Bononia intravit Curiam 1424 Aug 24.”⁶ (3) Rinucius igitur Romam patronum suum comitatus,⁷ mox Pogium graecas litteras docere coepit.⁸ Subsequenti igitur tempori referenda est translatio *Decretorum Athenien.* (ex Demosthenis *Or. de Cor.*), quae Pogio dedicata est. Prima autem Rinucii de Demosthene translatio esse videtur. (4) Anno 1431 Condulmarus ille factus est Eugenius papa IV. Fere triennio post “inter hos turbulentos rerum curialium motus ac temerariam papae Eugenii ab urbe fugam,”⁹ i. e. anno 1434 mense Iunio,¹⁰ Rinucius *Epistolas* Diogenis Hippocratis Euripidis Pogio dedicavit neque occasionem praeteriit Eugenii papae obiurgandi (cf. Prooem.). (5) Inter annos 1440–1443, per sex fere mensis ex aestate continuos, Rinucius patrono carens in

¹ Fortasse Matthaeo de Rethymo O. E. s. A., anno 1405 sqq. episc. Sitiensi, cf. C. Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* I, 479.

² Fortasse inter annos 1440 et 1443 (vide infra § 5), cf. Rin., Aristoph. *Plut.*, *Epist.*, l. 7 et Abaris Pyth. *Lys. Epist.*, Prooem., l. 5 sq.

³ E. Jacobs, *Cristoforo Buondelmonti in Beitr. z. Bücherkunde, etc. Wilmanns gewid.*, Lipsiae, 1903.

⁴ Flam. Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, Ven. 1755, P. I., p. 94. De hoc loco perbenigne me certiore fecit vir cl. E. Jacobs.

⁵ *Lat. Epist.* ed. P. Cannetus, Florent. 1759, VIII, 28, p. 385 sq. Cf. Voigt-Lehnerdt, *Wiederbelebung*, II, 45.

⁶ C. Eubel, *op. cit.*, II, 4, adn. 6. Hoc opusculum Romae post annum 1429 ad Condulmarum reconciliandum translatum esse coniecit Ravaglius, p. 44.

⁷ Ambros. Traversarius, *op. cit.*, VIII, 9, p. 372.

⁸ Pogius, *Epist.* ed. T. de Tonellis, Florent. 1832, II, 35. Cf. IV, 5; IV, 12.

⁹ Prooem., l. 2 sq.

¹⁰ Eubel, *op. cit.*, II, 7, adn. 4.

rebus adversis complura edidit opera.¹ (a) Luciani *Charontem* Iohanni Iuveni (le Jeune), card. Morinensi (18 Dec. 1439–9 Sept. 1451),² dedicavit et ad Laurentium Columnam misit. Aestate translatum esse ex his verbis constat: “Caloribus proxime superioribus, cum curia valetudine pessima laboraret et curialium aegrotantium strages in urbe maxima esset, . . .”³ et “Itaque his immensis caloribus . . .,”⁴ verum de inimicorum “persecutionibus” nihil. Prooemium incipit: “Seraphius Urbinas vir utriusque iuris interpret . . .” (b) Rinucius, mortuo Laurentio filio (?) et discipulo suo, qui “apud Ferrariam cum graecorum reductione concilium celebraretur” (i. e. Concilio Ferrarensi anno 1438) “ab ipsis graecis Mermerus fuit cognominatus,”⁵ duas composuit *Monodias*,⁶ quarum priorem Iohanni Iacobo medico, alteram Lucae Trossulo dedicavit. (c) Eadem aestate “his proximis,” ut ait, “caloribus . . . cum aegrotantium urbs haec fere diversorium esset”⁷ Luciani *Vitarum Venditionem* eidem Seraphio Urbinati⁸ dedicavit, cuius in mentionem in prooemio *Charontis* iam inciderat. Dialogo autem translato ad Laurentium Columnam haec scripsit: “Diebus superioribus una cum litteris meis tuae Dominationi transmisi duas monodias quas edidi super obitu Mermeri mei . . . Ex post feci latinum Luciani dialogum qui inscribitur philosophorum illustrium vitarum venditio, . . .”⁹ Animadver-

¹ Fortasse anno 1440, nam et die 19 Apr. et die 21 Nov. Perusiam invitatus, bis impeditus esse videtur quin officia honestissima iniret. Cf. Ravaglium, pp. 65–67, et G. B. Vermigliolium, *Memorie di Iacopo Antiquarj, etc.* Perugia, 1813, p. 160 sqq.

² Eubel, *op. cit.*

³ Rinucii Epist., l. 3 sqq.

⁴ Prooem., l. 19.

⁵ Vide Prioris Monodiae exitum.

⁶ Cod. *Bodleian. Canon. misc. 169 ff. 78r–79r*: RYNUCIUS INFOELIX MAGRO IOHANNI IACOBO FOELICITATEM. *Nullum in adversis . . . frequentius legas.* (MONODIA PRIMA) *Qualem pro quali . . . Laurentius nominaretur.* ff. 79r–80r: RYNUCIUS LOCULENTISSIMO (sic) VOCIS INTERPRETI LUCE TROSSULO SALUTEM. *Cum omnia . . . ingenii velim.* (MONODIA ALTERA) *Flete nunc valles . . . certe potiri.* Alteram Monodiam continet etiam codex *Pistoriensis 9*.

⁷ Prooem., l. 7 sq.

⁸ “Serafino Staccoli da Urbino,” Ravaglius, p. 40. Dialogum anno 1430 vel paulo post translatum esse coniecit Ravaglius, p. 44.

⁹ Rinucii Epist., l. 2 sqq.

tendum est autem inter res adversas hanc novam includi: "ne succumberem persecutionibus illis, quas cum putabam iam diu esse sopitas, fortuna solito dirior exulceravit longe antea acriores."¹ Praeterea nusquam nisi in hac epistola et in prooemio alterius Monodiae, tamquam si de rebus suis omnino desperasset, de astrologia loquitur. (d) [Tum de Luciano aliud quoddam a Rinucio esse translatum sed non iam exstare coniecto, quoniam in prooemio Hippocratis *Epistolae ad Damagetum*, quam paulo post e graeco convertit (vide infra § i), sic scriptum est: "His brumalibus noctibus locupletissimos testes excitavi eosque in Latium transmisi, scilicet Lucianum Platonem atque Pythagoram."² Id vero neque ad *Charontem* neque ad *Vit. Vend.* referri potest, quos dialogos aestate translatos esse constat. Itaque tertium nescioquem dialogum de Luciano inita hieme transtulit.] (e) Platonis *Axiochum* Angellecto Fusco episcopo Cavensi³ (obiit 12 Sept. 1444)⁴ dedicavit Rinucius. Si quidem hieme editus est (vide supra § d), anno 1443 posterior esse non potest. Ad "persecutiones" quidem referenda sunt haec verba: "cum animadverterem crebrioribus in diem ictibus a fortuna sine requie percuti et in acerbiores curas quotidie versari . . . ad antiqua bonarum artium studia me contuli ut experirer si quo modo fortunam saevam mihi delenire valerem."⁵ Primam hanc Rinucii de Platone translationem fuisse hinc patet: " . . . quippiam otii dabitur mihi, maiora illius divini hominis opera, quae permulta sunt atque pulcherrima, . . . ausim attingere."⁶ (f) Platonis *Euthyphronem* eodem anno ac Luciani *Vit. Vend.* sed paucis post mensibus translatum esse ex his verbis constat: "Quippe cum persecutiones quae iam sopitae putabantur instar capitis hydrae solito diriores in me nullo meo vitio exulcerarentur denuo, nec in causa aequa aequum iudicem haberem, atque ancora qua maxime nixus eram non modo mihi defuerit sed nixu proprio praecipitium dederit, duxi animo contra stimulum non calcitrare sed quo melius possim ad feliciora tempora me servare"⁷ et "Igitur inter cetera quae his longioribus noctibus lucubravi, Platonis dialogum de cultu deorum e Graecia traduxi in Latium . . ."⁸ (g) Pythagorae *Aurea Verba* "Salvatoris nostri nataliciorum nocte"⁹ e graeco translata, Petro Cicco Paulo civi romano dedicavit Rinucius. Quamquam "persecutiones" illas

¹ Prooem., l. 11 sq.

² Prooem., l. 23 sqq.

³ Axiochum Guglielmo Filasterio card. s. Marci, qui de vita anno 1428 decesserit, dedicatum esse pro certo habet Ravaglius (p. 43; p. 39, adn. 3).

⁴ Eubel, *op. cit.*

⁷ Prooem., l. 19 sqq.

⁵ Prooem., l. 28 sqq.

⁸ Prooem., l. 29 sqq.

⁶ Prooem., l. 46 sqq.

⁹ Prooem., l. 14 sq.

silentio praeterit, huic tamen tempori referendum esse hoc opusculum e prooemio Hippocratis *Epistolae ad Damagetum* patet (vide supra § d). (h) Tum postridie (?) i. e. "inter haec Salvatoris nostri natalicia"¹ Abaris Pythagorae Lysisque *Epistolas* convertit, quas Nicolao de Acciapaccis, card. Capuano (18 Dec. 1439–3 Apr. 1447),² dedicavit. (i) Postremo illam de qua iam dixi Hippocratis *Epistolam ad Damagetum* Andreae de Sancta Cruce dedicavit. Andreas ille Concilio Ferrarensi advocatus apostolici consistorii interfuerat.³ In Prooemio sic scriptum est: "Horum vestigiis innixus, cum id pusillum mihi fuit ereptum quo vitam vix tenuem ducebam, meque deiectum apud infimos viderem, ne omnino totus interirem, statui mortuos ab inferis scribendo excitare . . . , ut per me et viventibus prosint et testimonium exhibeant me non iure sic apud infimos esse religatum."⁴ (6) Inter annos fortasse 1443–1446, adversante non iam fortuna, Demosthenis interpretationi Romae incubuit. (a) [Non exstat quae hoc tempore prior edita est translatio. "Demosthenis vitam," ut ait Rinucius,⁵ "in commentarii formam ac eius pro Olynthiis orationes tres e graeco in latinum traduxi, illasque reverendissimo patri N (icolao de Acciapaccis) Cardinali Capuano perscripsi, quo tempore urbis Romae regimini prae-fuit." Quo tempore id fuerit nescio. Nicolaus de Acciapaccis, quamquam inter vicecamerarios S.R.E. vel gubernatores almae Urbis numquam nominatur,⁶ fortasse ante exilium suum (18 Iun. 1446)⁷ et post Eugenii reditum (19 Sept. 1443)⁸ urbi prae-fuit.] (b) Demosthenis *Orationem ad Philippi Epistolam* Francisco Condulmaro, episc. Portuensi (ca. 1445 sqq.),⁹ card. Venetiarum ac S.R.E. vicecancellario (ca. 1443 sqq.),¹⁰ dedicavit. In Prooemio autem de Nicolao card. Capuano ut adhuc vivente loqui videtur,¹¹ quare orationem post Nicolaum mortuum (3 Apr. 1447) non edidit, nedum post *Aesopi Vitam* susceptam (16 Dec. 1446). Animadvertendum est autem quid scripserit Rinucius extremo opere de Philippi ipsius *Epistola* a Leonardo Aretino translata. (7) Postremo Rinucius aureo illo Nicolai V. regno quattuor edidit translationes. (a) De Aesopi

¹ Prooem., l. 3.² Eubel, *op. cit.*³ Mansi, *Amplissima Coll. Concil.*, 31B, 1429 sqq.⁴ Prooem., l. 17 sqq.⁵ Demosth. *Or. ad Philippi Epist.* Prooem., l. 45 sqq.⁶ Moroni, *Diz. di erud. stor.-eccles.*, xxxii, 36 sqq.; xcix, 126 sqq.⁷ Eubel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 30, adn. 83.⁸ Eubel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 7, adn. 4.⁹ Eubel, *op. cit.*¹⁰ Eubel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 29, adn. 40.¹¹ Prooem., l. 47.

Vita anonyma Fabulisque centum in Epistola ad Antonium de la Cerda card. tituli S. Chrysogoni sic scripsit: "Quo tempore . . . Nicolaus pontifex quintus dum erat in minoribus ad dignitatem cardinalatus fuit promotus (16 Dec. 1446),¹ vitam Aesopi e graeco in latinum eius in nomine te hortatore suasoreque coepi transferre. Sed prius quam illam absolvissem, Sanctitas eius ad summi apostolatus fastigium fuit assumpta (6 Mart. 1447).¹ Deinde tu ipse saepius et frequenter me hortatus fuisti ut simul cum vita fabulas quoque traducerem. Quod libenter feci, licet non in tempore quo cupiebam, . . . Postremo cum ad extremam deduxeram manum, considerans pontificalem maiestatem maiora munera decere, eam in hodiernam usque diem dubius cui ascriberem apud me tenui nec illam edidi. Nunc cum Dominatio tua ad eiusdem cardinalatus dignitatem . . . devenerit (16 Febr. 1448),¹ visum est nimium fore absurdum, si hic Aesopus noster alii se dedicaret . . ."² (b) Aristotelis *Librum de Mundo* Nicolao V. dedicatum, deinde ad Antonium de la Cerda missum, principio anni 1449 Rinucium edidisse his rationibus conicio, quia et "longioribus noctibus,"³ i. e. hieme, librum transtulit, et Nicolaum papam laudans "ecclesiam" inquit "... iam fere unieris,"⁴ Felix enim antipapa 7 Apr. 1449 abdicaturus erat.⁵ (c) Hippocratis *Epistolae XV*: Iussu Philippi medici Mediolanensis, quo melius intellexeretur *Epistola ad Democritum*, alias XIV epistolas "brumalibus noctibus"⁶ "pridie quam curia pro peste vitanda 'ab urbe recederet'"⁷ latine reddidit Rinucius cunctasque Pontifici dedicavit, deinde ad Antonium de la Cerda, card. Ilerdensem (28 Mart. 1449 sqq.),⁸ misit. Hiemi igitur annorum 1449-1450 referendum est hoc opusculum. (d) Bruti *Epistolas LXX*, "quo tempore curia ob pestem novissime recessit ab urbe"⁹ "scismate sublato"¹⁰ "noctibus brevioribus,"¹¹ i. e. aestate anni 1450, in latinum translatae, Pontifici dedicavit, deinde ad amicum veterem Laurentium de Columna misit.¹²

¹ Eubel, *op. cit.*

² Epistola Altera, l. 5 sqq.

³ Prooem., l. 5.

⁴ Prooem., l. 46 sq.

⁵ Eubel, *op. cit.*

⁶ Prooem., l. 16.

⁷ Rinucii Epist., l. 6.

⁸ Eubel, *op. cit.*

⁹ Rinucii Epist., l. 4 sq.

¹⁰ Prooem., l. 38.

¹¹ Prooem., l. 29.

¹² Fortasse prioribus referendae sunt octo Bruti Epistolae quae in cod. Marcian. 1919, f. 48 adservantur. Inc. *Bruti eple quedam cum responsivis latine per Rinucium facte. Brutus Pergamenis salutem dicit. Audio vos . . . Expl. . . . facultas minime adest.*

De codicibus:¹ Tres sunt codices primarii qui complura Rinucii opera continent: (a) Primus est *Baliolensis 131* = B, qui in catalogo typis impresso² summam modo attingitur, desunt enim pleraeque rubricae. Liber est membranaceus ex tribus constans codicibus, quorum primus duodecim folia scripta duoque vacua complectans Timaeum Locrensem *de Mundi Fabrica* in latinum a Gregorio Tiphernate translatus continet; alter, alia scriptus manu, tredecim quondam Rinucii nostri opera, ut mox demonstrabo, continuit, hodie vero, quoniam et a principio et a tergo mutilus est, novem modo exhibet, scilicet, (1) AX, cuius decima fere pars a fronte deest, (2) Plat. *Euthyphro*, (3) *Penia Fabula*, (4) AESOP, (5) BRUT, (6) Abaris Pyth. *Lysis Epistolae*, (7) PYTH, (8) HIPPOC, (9) Diog. Hippoc. Eur. *Epistolae*, quarum quattuor ultimae desunt; tertius, qui prioribus dissimili manu scriptus est, Bartholomaei Facii in *Laurentium Vallam Invectionem* continet. Totum hunc librum adhuc integrum Collegio Baliolensi donum dedit William Gray episcopus Eliensis, qui annis 1449–1454 Romae legatus³ Rinucium ipsum sine dubio cognoverat. In libro enim nostro a fronte scripsit manus saeculi XV: “Liber domus de Balliolo. in oxon ex dono Wilu Gray Eliensis Epi.” Eadem quoque manus et quinterniones totius libri (A–Y) signavit et hunc praescripsit indiculum (quae stellula designavi, ea hodie desunt): Thymeus Lokrensis | *Dialogus platonis qui inscribit⁴ | Acciokus platonis (= AX) | plato de cultu deoꝝ (= *Euthyphro*) | plato (= *Penia Fabula*) | Vita ysopi cū fabulis (= AESOP) | Epistule Bruti ex greco in latinū (= BRUT) | Epistole Aboris ad. falarim | Epistole pittagore ad Ieronē | Epistole lysys ad hipparcū (= *Abaris Pyth. Lysis, Epist.*) | Dicta pittagore (= PYTH) | Epistole hippocrate ad Dimocritū (= HIPPOC) | Epistole Dyogenesis (= *Diog. Hippoc. Eur., Epist.*) | *Lucianus de vendicōe aiaꝝ | *Dyalogus luciani qui iscribi charon. | *Dyalogus Luciani de vēdicōe aiaꝝ | *Bartholomaeus Contra*

¹ In codicibus recensendis notiora Rinucii opera sic designabo: AESOP = Aesopi Vita et Fabulae, AX = Platonis Axiochus, BRUT = Bruti Epistolae, CHAR = Luciani Charon, DMx = Luciani Dialogus Mortuorum decimus, HIPPOC = Hippocratis Epistolae, PLUT = Plutarchi opusculum “Quid Principem Decet,” PYTH = Pythagorae Aurea Verba, VEND = Luciani Vitarum Venditio.

² H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Cod. Mss. Coll. et Aull. Oxon.* P. I., Oxon. 1852.

³ H. W. Carless Davis, *Balliol College*, London, 1899, p. 51.

⁴ Sequitur brevis vocabuli rasura.

laurētiū Vallay. | Hunc indiculum post libros Oxonienses saeculo XVI. mutilatos¹ correxerit lector aliquis. Nam et Luciani tres dialogos excisos fuisse adnotavit et illud "*Bartholomaeus*" addidit. Corrector autem nomen primi dialogi platonici utpote iam deficientis erasit. Praeterea animadvertendum est lineam per verba "*Lucianus de vendicōe aīaR*" (i. e. per primum ex tribus illis titulis) a nescioqua manu ductam esse. Quare dubium est mihi utrum hic corrector duos tantummodo dialogos Luciani in codice invenerit an perperam duobus idem nomen impositum esse significare voluerit.

Si quis igitur volumen perscrutatus erit, viderit tres quinterniones PQR ab extremo altero codice esse amissos, i. e. 30 folia vel haud plus 12000 vocabula. Verum Diog. Hippoc. Eur. *Epistolarum* quod deest ex 500 fere verbis, Luciani *Vit. Vend.* ex 4300 fere verbis, *Charon* ex 3700 fere verbis constant. His additis 8500 habemus verba. Ergo veri simile est tertium quoddam Luciani dialogum adfuisse, qui vel brevissimus ille DMx. vel longior quilibet esse potuit, nam Rinucium etiam aliud quoddam e Luciano transtulisse supra coniectavimus.² Attamen perspicuum est huius codicis scribam nonnumquam complura folia in scribendo praetermisisse, nam post *Peniam Fabulam* quinque olim fuerunt folia vacua, quorum quattuor hodie excisa sunt.

Nunc vero quaerendum est quid a fronte alterius codicis amissum fuerit. Primus codex ex quattuordecim foliis consistit (i. e. ex quinternione A atque ex quattuor prioribus foliis quinternionis B). Alter autem codex hodie a folio C₂ incipit. Desunt igitur septem folia (i. e. B₅-C₁), quae ad alterum codicem pertinuerunt, siquidem ante *Axiochum*, ut in indiculo scriptum videmus, etiam alium Platonis dialogum fuisse credimus. Desunt fere 250 ipsius *Axiochi* vocabula, singulis autem paginis sunt fere 200 vocabula, dialogus igitur ab extremo folio C₁^r initium cepit. Prooemium autem *Axiochi* ex 450 fere vocabulis constans a medio folio B₁₀^r initium sumpsit. Restant ergo a fronte alterius codicis, si defuit *Axiochi* prooemium, 6³ folia (= 2550 vocabula); sin adfuit, 5¹/₄ folia (= 2100 vocabula). Ex his igitur colligo vel *Critonem*³ (quem fortasse Rinucius locos difficiliore praetermittendo aliquanto brevior

¹ H. W. Carless Davis, *ibid.*, p. 52.

² Vide, p. 54, § 5d.

³ Vide quae de codice *Udinensi* scripsi, p. 60, adn. 1.

effecit) vel alium Platonis brevem brevi nomine dialogum hoc loco stetisse. Verum tamen si primus codex signaturis caruit (etenim hodie nullae apparent) et alter codex a folio A₁ initium cepit, omnino non necesse est coniectare breviorē fuisse hunc Platonis dialogum.

(b) Alter est *Vaticanus* 305 = V, in catalogo typis impresso accurate descriptus.¹ Continet: ff. 1^r–84^v Rufini Hieronymi aliorumque opera, annis 1452 et 1453 transcripta; ff. 90^r–138^r, alia manu, novem Rinucii opera, quae sine dubio haud multo post transcripta sunt, scilicet, (1) PLUT, (2) Diog. Hippoc. Eur. *Epist.*, (3) Abaris Pyth. *Lysis Epist.*, (4) PYTH, (5) BRUT, (6) *Decreta Athenien.*, (7) Dem. *Or. ad Philippi Epist.*, (8) Aristot. *de Mundo*, (9) HIPPOC.

(c) Tertius est *Berolinensis* 4^o. 558 = β, chartaceus, saec. XV. exeuntis. Continet inter rerum humanisticarum miscellanea octo Rinucii opera, scilicet, 189^r–204^r HIPPOC (*Epist.* 12 cum Arg. et 1–10), 204^r–207^v Abaris Pyth. *Lys. Epist.*, 207^v–209^v PYTH, 209^v–213^r HIPPOC (*Epist.* 11, 13–15), 213^r–218^v PLUT, . . . , 220^v–230^v AX, 230^v sqq. Plat. *Crito*, . . . , 244^v–255^v CHAR, 255^v–265^v VEND.

Sunt praeterea codices xxvi, quorum unusquisque bina aut amplius Rinucii opera continet, scilicet: Ambros. M. 4. Sup. (PLUT, AX); Arundel. 277 in Mus. Brit. (DMx, VEND, CHAR, . . . , AX, PLUT); Berolin. 8^o. 171 (AESOP, . . . , CHAR); Bodleian. Canon. misc. 169 (Monodiae, PYTH); Cusan. 177 (AX, DMx, PLUT); Escorial. a. IV. 12 (HIPPOC, BRUT); Florent. Magl. viii. 53 (BRUT, HIPPOC²); Foroiulien. in urbe s. Danielis 120 (DMx, CHAR, VEND)³; Harleian. 4923 in Mus. Brit. (AX, . . . , DMx); Laurentiani <1> Ashburn. 1721 (BRUT, HIPPOC), <2> 89 Sup. 16 (CHAR, VEND); Lipsien. 1260 in Bibl. Univ. (DMx, . . . , CHAR); Marciani <1> 1919 (DMx, BRUT)⁴, <2> cl. vi. num. 255 (AESOP, CHAR); Monacenses <1> 364 (DMx, . . . , CHAR), <2> 12728 (CHAR, VEND), <3> 23861 (DMx, . . . , CHAR); Paris. 8729 in Bibl. Nat. (VEND, . . . , Hippoc. ad Damagetum, . . . , DMx, . . . , Decreta Athenien., CHAR); Stutgard. poet. et philol. 4^o. 37 (DMx, CHAR, VEND, . . . , CHAR,⁵ . . . , AESOP); Udi-

¹ Vattasso e Franchi, *Cat. Cod. Vat. Lat.*, Vol. I.

² Nil praeter Prooemi rubrica ex cod. *Laurent. Ashburn.* 1721, sumpta.

³ Apud Mazzatintium num. 121 designatur.

⁴ Apud Valentinellium, *Bibl. Ms. ad S. Marci Ven.* 1871, = X. 244. Cf. etiam, p. 56, adn. 12.

⁵ Rinucii Epistola sola.

nensis codex¹ (duos Platonis dialogos continens); Vaticani <1> 1781 (BRUT, HIPPOC), <2> 2876 (DMx, . . . , DMx), <3> 3441 (AX, PLUT), <4> 4155 (DMx, VEND), <5> 4490 (HIPPOC, . . . , PLUT), <6> Urbin. 1313 (HIPPOC, . . . , BRUT).²

Cum hos codices xxvi tum tres primarios BVβ infra in operibus recensendis stellula semper designabo, quo melius intellegatur eos plus quam unum Rinucii opus continere.

His praemissis ad singula opera edenda aggrediamur.

ABARIS PYTHAGORAS LYSIS, EPISTOLAE III

Graece apud Hercher, *Epistolog. Gr.*, Paris. 1873: Phal. *Epist.* 57, p. 422; Pythagoreor. *Epist.* 2-3, p. 601 sq. Cf. Ambros. Traversarii *Epistolas* a P. Canneto editas, Florent. 1759, VIII. 28: "Volumen parvulum misit ad me (Rinucius) . . . Transcripsi ex eo nocte ipsa Platonis definitiones . . . Tres item Epistolas Abaris ad Stilaridem (sic), ac Pythagorae ad Hieronidem (sic), et Lisidis Pythagorici ad Hypparchum eiusdem sectae philosophum praeclaras scripsi."

Codices: *V 98^r-99^r; *B 108^r-111^r (desunt rubricae); *β 204^r-207^v (deest Prooem.)

(PROOEMIUM: ecodd. VB edidi.) REVERENDISSIMO PATRI DOMINO .N. CARDINALI CAPUANO RYNUCIUS SE COMMENDAT. Inter haec Salvatoris nostri natalicia, dum lucubrarem essemque a ceteris curis vacuus, Reverendissime Pater, me ad recensendum fragmenta quaedam graece scripta, ne dicam codices, converti. Haec inter volvendo incidi in trium doctissimorum hominum epistolia tria, quorum primum est Abaris ad Phalarim, secundum Pythagorae ad Hieronem, ultimum Lysiae ad Hipparchum. Quae epistolia, licet brevia sed longe pretiosa esse recordatus, maiori qua-

¹ Mazzatintius (*Cat.* III, 237) codices Ioppianos summatim attingit, inter quos reperitur: "Traduzione lat. adesp. di due dialogi di Platone; il secondo ha questa dedica 'Imperatori Caesari Manuelli Paleologo Rynutius Felicitatem,' Membr. sec. XV." Alterum dialogum Platonis *Critonem* esse colligo; prior vero quid sit nescio. Neque enim horum codicum catalogum (G. Bragato, *Cat. anal. descrit. della coll. dei mss. dei frat. Ioppi*, in *Boll. della civ. bibl. e del museo di Udine*, Vol. II) adipisci neque quicquam de his codicibus comperire potui.

² Cod. *Ashburnhamensem dlxxxi* (sive nunc *Laurentianum* sive *Parisiensem*) qui PYTH, PLUT, atque binos Platonis Lucianique dialogos continet, ego numquam invenire potui, cf. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, II, 84; Zippel, *Giunle e Correzioni*, p. 47.

- 10 dam animi iocunditate cursim perlegi, nec legisse contentus latine quoque ut legi possint eadem ipsa lucubratione curavi tuaeque Dominationi dedicavi qui licet inter arduos rerum agendarum strepitus pro statu ecclesiae quotidie veriseris, tamen cum datur otium et legere et audire libenter soles illorum dicta qui ea quae plurimi mortales
- 15 summis laboribus sequuntur fugientes et hanc vitam ut sic dicam foralem negotiosamque pro nihilo habentes totos se otio tradiderunt. Has igitur epistolas non ut copiosam sed ceu brevem et pretiosam supellectilem si aequo animo tua Dominatio ut cetera solet et leget et audiet, cognoscet nimirum huiusmodi homines non philosophos ut
- 20 sunt temporibus nostris sed verae virtutis ac sapientiae fuisse studiosos. Et ut lucidius intellegantur, earum argumenta in primis ascripsi.

1-3 rub. deest B | 8 Lysias semper scribitur | 13 quotidie om. V

ARGUMENTUM. *Abaris*¹ in philosophia . . . haec verba respondit.

EPISTOLA. *Abaris Phalari*. Quod sis saevus . . . *Abaris dicit*.

ARGUMENTUM. *Pythagoras Samius* . . . epistolam respondit.

EPISTOLA. *Pythagoras Hieroni*. Tuta mihi . . . simul aegrotare.

ARGUMENTUM. *Lysias et Hipparchus* . . . ingredi non potest.

EPISTOLA. *Lysias Hipparcho*. Posteaquam . . . mortuum scito.

AESOPUS, VITA anon. et FABULAE C

De Aesopi Vita graeca cf. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der Byzant. Lit.*, p. 897. Vitam recentiore vel Planudeanam edidit Eberhard, *Fab. Romanenses*, Lips. 1872; antiquiorem, quae multo rarior est, edidit Westermann, *Vita Aes.*, Brunsvigae 1845. Tertiam Westermannensi propiorem transtulit Rinucius. Digna est igitur haec translatio quae in Vita graeca recensenda adhibeatur. Veri simile est Rinucium in codice suo lacunam invenisse (Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 53, l. 20 ad p. 54, l. 9), latine enim haec scripsit: "Inquit ad illum, 'Ecquid sic gemis Aesope? Esto forti animo. Habe spes bonas, ac te ipsum consoleris.' Tum Aesopus subgemens ait, 'Mulier quaedam de recenti virum sepelierat ac singulis diebus ad sepulcrum proficiscens plorabat. Arator quidam sepulcro appropinquans . . . (lacuna) . . . Ecce Delphi etc.'" Atque a latere haec addidit: "Hic quia deficit ut opinor carta una, ideo fabulam incohatam et quae eam sequuntur scribere supersedi, alias scripturus si reperire quibo."²

¹ Typis italicis imprimenda curavi ea verba quae e graeco translata esse vel scio vel coniecto.

² Sic scriptum est in codd. T, O, Ottobon. 2112, *Berolin. 8°. 171, Marcian. xi. 105.

Fabulas centum ex Planudeanis latine reddidit Rinucius. Eaedem vel simillimae apud Carolum Halm, *Αἰσωπείων Μύθων Συναγωγή*, Lips. 1854, inveniuntur, quas servato Rinucianarum ordine profero, scilicet: 5, 8, 7, 9, 45, 39, 14, 46, 28, 32, 37, 35, 22, 47b, 66, 62, 6, 98, 59, 31, 27, 24, 58, 42, 23, 76b, 88, 90b, 107, 95, 103, 111, 221, 311, 301, 144b, 179b, 113, 316b, 15, 44, 128, 100, 135, 200b, 386, 413, 157, 167, 169, 171, 189, 353, 204, 231, 208, 233, 248b, 246, 262, 260, 249, 240, 276b, 274, 21c, 286, 296b, 303, 287b, 292, 304, 305, 308, 329, 237b, 328, 334, 343, 78, 296b, 216, 315, 63, 233, 2350b, 356, 2420b, 123b, 351, 370b, 2385, 71, 392, 153, 366, 425, 424b, 2401, 256.

“Commentarium” quoque e brevissima Aesopi vita (cf. Eberhard, *Fab. Romanen.*, Lips. 1872, p. 309 sq.) multis praetermissis convertit Rinucius.

Codices: [Non vidi (a) *Escorial. o. III. 26*, qui fortasse inter meliores ponendus est; (b) *Val. 5129*]. Eorum quos vidi optimus est (1) *Cantabrig.*¹ in *bibl. Coll. Trinitatis, R. I. 39 = T.* F. 1^v scriptum est “Antonio Cerdano Card. di S. Crisogono MCCCCL.” Colligo igitur hunc codicem aut ipsum archetypum esse aut ab archetypo inter duos annos transcriptum. Rinucii Epistolam primam (i. e. ad Laur. Lavinam) extremo in codice (70^r–70^v) post Anacephaleosin, alteram, quae eodem tempore ac archetypus ad Antonium cardinalem missa esse videtur, a fronte (2^r–2^v) ante Prooemium addidit manus eiusdem saeculi, posterior tamen atque inferior (= t). Lacunam quae in Vita reperitur adnotationemque Rinucii supra descripsi.²

(2) Fere eodem pretio est codex *B, qui 38^r–94^v totum hoc continet opus. Quare ad Rinucii Epistolas duas edendas optimus haberi debet. Desunt rubricae omnes, sed Epistolarum salutationes una cum textu transcripsit scriba. Ad lacunam in Vita scriptum est “hic deest aliquid.”

(3) Bonus est codex² *Ottobon. 1536 = O.* Deest Epistola prima. Scriptus est fortasse sub Nicolao V (1447–1455), nam ille qui rubricavit, fortasse quia alterius Epistolae primam solam sententiam legerat, Prooemium ad “Thomam tt. Sancte Susanne p̄rm Cardinalem *hodie* .N. pp.

¹ M. R. James, *Cat. of Western Mss. in Trin. Coll. Libr.*, Vol. II, num. 456.

² Vide, p. 61, adn. 2.

V." inscripsit. Praeterea et in hoc codice et in quattuor qui sequuntur¹ adnotationes nonnullas de alphabetico graecarum fabularum ordine scriptas inveni, quas scriba aliquis graecae linguae peritus, qui Rinucii Comment. et Anaceph. nimia diligentia legisset, ad opus adiungere conatus est. Huiusmodi sunt: inter 26 et 27 "Reliquae fabulae a β incipientes deficiunt," inter 32 et 33 "Incipit δ " etc. Quae cum codicibus T B desint et a veritate abhorreant, nequaquam a Rinucio originem ducere manifestum est, namque fabulae nostrae si graece inscribantur vix litterarum ordinem sequantur, in vertendo igitur ordinem mutasse videtur Rinucius.

Minoris aestimandi sunt codices qui sequuntur: (4) *Ottobon. 2112* 37^r-76^r. Deest Epistola altera. In Vitae textu non indicatur lacuna nostra, sed a latere scripta est plena adnotatio.² (5) **Marcian. vi. 255* 1^r-95^r. Desunt et Rinucii Epistolae et rubrica Prooemii. Ad lacunam in Vita scriptum est: "Hic quia *fabula imperfecta est*, ideo scribere supersedi, alias scripturus si reperire quibo." Ab eodem codice descriptus est ac **Berolin. 8°.* 171, ut mox demonstrabo.³ (6) **Berolin. 8°.* 171 1^r-47^r, mutilus.⁴ A media fere Vita hodie incipit. Praeterea folium unum inter xxx. et xxxi. amissum est, quod Fabulas fere a media xli. ad mediam xlv. continebat. Ab eodem codice descriptus est ac **Marcian. vi. 255*, cf. Comment., l. 6 *somniis*, l. 8 *variarum] singularum*, l. 13 *vitare] gustare*.⁵ (7) Deterior est codex *Marcian. xi. 105* 1^r-61^v, fortasse inter annos 1447-1455 scriptus, nam Prooemium ad "thomam tt. sancte Susanne presbiterum cardinalem hodie .N. pp. V." sicut in codice O, inscribitur.⁶ (8) *Ottobon. 1490* 101^r-168^v. Continet Arg., Vitam, Fabulas. Desunt rubricae, nec certum mihi est eademne manus et Vitam et Fabulas scripserit. Ad lacunam in Vita scriptum est: "hic deficit multum." (9) *Vat. 2945* 223^r-249^r. Continet Epist. alteram, Prooem., Arg., Vitam. In Vitae textu non indicatur lacuna nostra, sed a latere scriptum est

¹ Sunt codd. *Ottobon. 2112*, **Marcian. vi. 255*, **Berolin. 8°.* 171, *Marcian. xi. 105*.

² Vide, adn. 1 et p. 61, adn. 2.

³ Sequitur Luciani *Charon*, 98^r-114^v, eadem manu xiiii. Kal. Novembris 1477 scriptus. Vide etiam, adn. 1.

⁴ Vide, adn. 1 et p. 61, adn. 2.

⁵ Vide quae infra de duobus his codicibus in *Charonte* edendo dixi, p. 94.

⁶ Vide, adn. 1 et p. 61, adn. 2.

"deficit." (10) Deterior est codex **Stutgard. in bibl. Regia, poet. et philol.* 4°. 37 138^r–197^r. Continet Prooem., Arg., Vitam. Prooemium "ad R. P. D. Thomam ep̄m et legatum Bononieñ. *postea* nicolaum papam V.tum" inscribitur. Ad lacunam in Vita nulla est adnotatio. Longum autem locum post verbum "ligatis" (194^r) praetermisit scriba, qui ad idem verbum in proximo exemplaris folio oculum transcurrere sivit. (11) Deterrimus est codex¹ *Foroiuliensis in urbe s. Danielis* 115. In extremo libro (etenim folia numeris carent) reperiuntur Epist. prima, Prooem., Epist. altera, Vita. Desunt rubricae, sed manus posterior super Epistolam primam scripsit "Mapheus Vegius ex greco Latinum fecit esopum." In Vitae textu non indicatur lacuna nec ulla adscripta est adnotatio. (12) *Aretinus* 181 in bibl. Frat. Laicorum. Solas Fabulas xxix. et xxxi. (134^r–134^v) et primam (163^v) continet.

A libris impressis descripti sunt codices qui sequuntur : (13) *In Mus. Brit. cod. Add.* 11896 26^r–100^v. "Vita esopi et fabule per Rynucium thettalum traducte. Mediolani absolute quarto nonas Iunias pro Illustrissimo et Ex^{mo}. D. domino .Io. Ga. Duce MI'i etc., 1477." Ab a libro² igitur transcriptus est, ut e colophone apparet et ut demonstrat lectionum collatio. (14) *Vindobon.* 9629, mutilus et cariosus. Continet Vitam (7^r–26^r), Commentarii frag. (30^r), Fabulas (30^r–48^v). Ab a libro² transcriptum esse etiam e litterarum formis apparet. (15) *Vat. Urb.* 226 173^r–217^v, a G libro³ descriptus, cf. Epist. I, l. 5 *altrum equantur*, l. 7 *animi ratione*] *ammiratione*, Epist. II, l. 7 *hortotare*, Prooem., l. 18 *quamvis*, l. 24 *vix*] *iuxta*, Comment., l. 6 *hospitilas*, Anaceph., l. 6 *Quod*] *Qui*. Tamen ille qui rubricavit ad Antonium card. Prooemium recte inscripsit.⁴

Libri impressi : ⁵ [Dubii sunt *H* 271, 273, 279, 280, 281a, 282, 324, 328, 744]. (1) (a) Editio princeps, liber ab Antonio Zaroto Mediolani impressus

¹ Apud Mazzatintium num. 116 designatur.

² Vide infra, § 3.

³ Vide infra, § 2 b.

⁴ Vide infra, § 2.

⁵ In libris recensendis maximo usui mihi fuerunt hi libri : Hain, *Reportorium* = H ; Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Rep.* = C ; Reichling, *Appendices ad Hainii-Cop. Rep.* = R ; Pellechet, *Cat. des Incunables* = P ; Peddie, *Conspectus Incunabulorum*. Ego plerasque Rinucii editiones ipse perscrutatus sum. Verum quas non vidi, eas *typis italicis* descripsi.

anno 1474, H 274 (R v.) = P 204 = Z. A nescioquo codice deteriore originem traxit. Desunt Rinucii Epistolae. Huius libri editor in Vita recensenda "fabulam incohatam" ita omisit ut nemo lacunam animadverteret, scilicet: "Habe spes bonas, ac te ipsum consoleris. ¶ Ecce Delphi, etc."¹ Ab hoc exemplare impressi sunt: (b) H 275 (C 1.) = P 206, Mediolani 1476;² (c) C 95, Mediolani 1479 "die xxix. mensis Iunii"; (d) H 276, Mediolani prid. Kal. Nov. 1479 (apparent nonnulla menda);³ (e) H 277 (C 1.) = P 207, die quarta Septembris 1480 (emendavit editor locos nonnullos ubi lapsus est liber 1479 impressus); (f) C 96 = P 208, Mediolani "die viiii novēber" 1480; (g) H 278 (C II. Add.), Parmae 1482 (revertit ad menda libri 1479 editi); (h) H 283 (R v.), Mediolani 3 Oct. 1491.

(2) Nihil huic familiae commune est cum ceteris librorum familiis. (a) H 269 = C 93 = P 194. Continet Rinucii Epistolas.⁴ Originem a nescioquo deteriore codice duxit, qui (sicut O et Marcian. xi. 105) Prooem. ad "Thomam tituli sancte Susanne presbiterum Cardinalem hodie Nicolaum papam quintum" missum fecerat.⁵ Ad lacunam in Vita nulla est adnotatio. Ab hoc exemplari impressi sunt (b) H 270 (C 1., R v.) = G; (c) H 281 (C 1.), anno 1487 impressus, qui continet Comment., Fabulas, Anaceph.

Tum tria sunt librorum genera, quorum editores Rinucii opus libere emendarunt et retractarunt: (3) Editio princeps Aesopi graeci a Bono Accursio⁶ edita,⁷ H 265 + 272 = P 185 + 192 = a. In tres partis

¹ Vide supra, p. 61.

² Prooemium et Anaceph. ab hoc libro descripta edidit Ang. Mar. Quirinus in *Epist. ad Schelhornium*, pp. 787 et 789 in *App. ad Freytagi Apparatum Litterarium*, Lips. 1752-1756.

³ Quae Copinger, Vol. I, de H276 scripsit, ea ad C 95 referenda sunt, cf. Peddie, *Consp. Inc.*

⁴ Epistolam alteram ab hoc libro (etenim in vetere catalogo Bibl. Reg. Paris. "Editio Romae, 1483" nominata est) descriptam edidit Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, 1893-94, pp. 296-298.

⁵ Huius familiae libro solo usus est Ravaglius, qui igitur putavit totum opus ad Nicolaum V. dedicatum esse, p. 39, adn. 2; pp. 68-69.

⁶ Ad Bonacursium quendam Candicum dedicaverat Rinucius Luciani *Dial. Mort.* x. Vide supra, p. 51.

⁷ "Mediolani ca. 1480" hunc librum impressum esse coniecit Hain, sed iam anno 1477 Rinucii dumtaxat translationem (= H 272) editam esse apparet ex codice Mus. Brit. *Add. 11896*, vide supra, num. 13.

vel in tria volumina divisus est liber, scilicet: (a) sermone graeco, Maximi Planudis Vitam Aesopicam Fabulasque prosas cxliv atque Ignatii Fabulas tres, (b) sermone latino, Vitam Aesopi Fabulasque C a Rinucio conversas,¹ (c) graece et latine, lxi fabulas graecas a Bono Accursio selectas atque verbum pro verbo "rudium ac puerorum gratia" redditas.² Pars altera et a codice aliquo (ut mox demonstrabo) et a Z libro (cf. Prooem., l. 15 *moderetur*; Arg., l. 11 *nimum*; Comment., l. 5 *sed . . . habentur*] *om.*) originem duxit. Desunt igitur Rinucii Epistolae. Colophon huiusmodi est: "Vita Aesopi per Rynucium thettalum³ traducta. Verum quoniam ab eo nonnulla fuerunt praetermissa, fortassis quia graecus eius codex esset minus emendatus, ego Bonus accursius Pisanus eadem in ea omnia correxi et emendavi." Itaque in Vita lacunam nostram explevit Accursius, i. e. a Rinucii fragmento initium capiens, "fabulam incohatam" absolvit, quam lacunam animadvertere non potuisset, si libro Z solo usus esset (vide supra). Mirum est autem Accursium non amplius Rinucii translationem correxisse, nam in Vita graeca edenda altera usus est codicum familia.⁴

(4) (a) Liber in Germania impressus,⁵ H 325 (C 1.) = H 326 = H 268 = H 289 = P 196. Continet et Vitam de Z libro sumptam (cf. lacunam nostram) et inter multas aliorum Rinucii quoque Fabulas xvii (scilicet: 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 15, 21, 40, 43, 53, 68, 70, 74, 90, 97, 100, 18). Voces singulas emendavit editor et argumenta plerisque fabulis praescripsit.⁶ (b) Eundem librum⁷ latine et germanice edidit

¹ Prooemium et Anaceph. ab hoc libro descripta edidit Argelatus, *Bibl. Scriptor. Mediolanen.*, 1754, T. I., p. dxliv.

² Iterum Regii 1497 edita est tertia pars, H 266 (R 1.) = P 186. Hae fabulae non modo a Rinucii translatione prorsus differunt, sed earum xxi inter Rinucii fabulas non reperiuntur. Perperam igitur apud Hain Reichling Pellechet inscribuntur "Fab. selectae gr. et lat. ex interpretatione Rinucii thettali."

³ Nusquam nisi hoc loco, multis post annis quam Rinucius mortuus est, adhibetur illud nomen. Nullius igitur est momenti. Errat Ravaglius, p. 36, adn. 2; p. 39.

⁴ Vide supra, p. 61.

⁵ Peddie, *Conspec. Inc.*

⁶ E. g. apud Steinhöwel Fab. 3 (= Rinucii Fab. 5) inc. "Homines consilio prediti prius finem prospiciunt quam dant operam rebus gerendis. De hoc audi fabulam. Vulpes et Hircus sitientes . . ." Incipit Rinucius a verbo "Vulpes . . ."

⁷ Rarissimus hic liber iterum anno 1873 editus est (Hermann Oesterley, Tübingen, 1873, *Bibl. d. Litterar. Vereins in Stuttgart*, num. CXVII) ubi Vita latina, pp. 3-38 et Fabulae latinae, pp. 242-259 reperiuntur.

Henricus Steinhöwel, H 330 (R iv.). Totus hic liber numquam postea impressus est, sed pars germanica saec. XV. et XVI. saepe est edita atque gallice, belgique, anglice etc. reddita (H 331-343 et 358-363, C 117-123, R 799, P 220-223 et 231-232),¹ pars latina rarius est prolata, scilicet: (c) *H 327 (C 1.) = P 198*; (d) *C 94*; (e) *H 329 = P 210, Antwerpiae 1486*; (f) *liber a Seb. Brant 1501 editus (nova argumenta versibus composita Steinhöwelianis praescripsit)*; (g) idem liber 1521 editus.

(5) (a) Liber a Francisco Tuppio latine et italice Neapoli anno 1485 editus, H 353 (C 1. et II. Add., R 1.) = P 227. Post Tuppii Prooemium, quod e Rinucii Prooemio Argumento Anacephaleosi compositum est, sequitur Aesopi Vita in xxiii divisa partis, quarum quaeque (1) inscriptionem latinam, (2) narrationem latinam, (3) tabulam xylographicam, (4) narrationem italicam continet. Prima quidem in parte, mutatis Rinucii verbis, simulavit Tuppius se auctorem esse narrationis latinae, post tamen omnia ad verbum transcripsit.² Veri simile autem est eum de codice aliquo (vel de G libro) Rinucii verba sumpsisse, nam in Vita lacunam ita explevit: “‘Habe spes bonas, ac te ipsum consoleris’ Tum Esopus subgemens <dum varias fabularum rationes pro consolatione sue miserie recitaret medium suspendere sermonem coactus est. Nam> ecce delphii etc.” De hoc exemplari impressi sunt: (b) H 354 (R iv.), Ven. 1492; (c) H 355 = P 229, Aquilae 1493; (d) R 800 = P 228, Ven. 1493; (e) C 125, Ven. [1500]; (f) Ven. 1503; (g) ibid. 1538; (h) ibid. 1553; (i) ibid. 1588; atque duo qui ad primae editionis textum reverterunt, (k) Mediolani 1502, (l) ibid. 1520.

Post Vitam Planudeanam³ ab Aldo Manutio conversam et anno 1505 editam oblivione obruta est Vita Aesopica a Rinucio translata, sed huius Fabulae diu et frequenter prolatae sunt. (6) Rob. Stephanus Aesopi Vitam et variorum Fabulas Paris. 1527 edidit. Continet hic liber ff. 9^r-24^r Rinucii Fabulas lxi selectas, scilicet: 1-2, 4-5, 7-8, 10-12, 15-18, 20-23, 28-29, 36, 38-45, 47-48, 50, 53, 55-56, 58-63, 65-66, 68-72, 74-77, 80-82, 84-89, 92-100. (7) Basileae anno 1524 primum, quod sciam, impressus est liber, qui et Aesopi Vitam brevissimam

¹ Cf. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, Paris, 1893, I, pp. 389 sqq. et 403 sqq.

² Iterum editus est Tuppii liber a Caesare de Lollis (*L'Esopo di Fran. del Tuppo*, Firenze, 1886). Vide Praefat, p. 13.

³ Vide, p. 61.

(incipit "Aesopus genus traxit ex Ammorio . . .") et Fabulas latinas omnium generum collectas continet, inter quas reperiuntur Rinucii Fabulae C una cum Commentario, a Z libro originem ducentes (cf. Comment., l. 5 *sed . . . habentur*] *om.*, l. 7, *blatero*, quo loco in libro a "balctero" scribitur). Ipse autem liber sic inscribitur: "Fabularum quae hoc libro continentur interpretes atque autores sunt hi: Guilelmus Goudanus, Hadrianus Barlandus, etc." Praeterea in Commentario duo sunt menda huic et huiusmodi libris propria, scilicet, l. 4 *Phrygus*, l. 12 *figendis*. Huius libri editiones annis 1527 Argentorati, 1534 Venetiis, [1559-1573] Francof. ad Oderam in off. Ioh. Eichorni, 1587 Francof. ad Moenum, 1655 Cantab., 1662 *ibid.*, 1691 Londini, 1759 *ibid.*, 1808 in urbe "Belfast" impressas partim ipse vidi partim in catalogis descriptas inveni. (8) Hinc quoque originem duxit liber anno 1532 apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni impressus. Inscribitur "Aesopi Phrygis et aliorum Fabulae, quorum nomina sequens pagella indicabit." Sequitur, p. 2: "Fabularum quae hoc in libro continentur Interpretes atque Auctores: Laurentius Valla, Gulielmus Gudanus, Hadrianus Barlandus, etc." Hic liber et translationem Aldinam Vitae Planudeanae (incipit "Rerum humanarum naturam . . .") et variorum Fabulas latinas continet, inter quas reperiuntur eadem Rinucii Fabulae una cum Commentario. Sed Commentarium ita emendatum est ut l. 4 *Phryx*, l. 12 *figendo* legamus. Huius libri editiones annis 1534 Paris., 1535 Lugduni, 1539 *ibid.*, 1542 *ibid.*, 1545 Paris., 1548 Lugduni, 1554 *ibid.*, 1556 *ibid.*, 1560 Antwerpiae, 1561 Paris., 1563 Venetiis, 1564 Paris., 1565 Antwerp., 1586 Venet., 1607 *ibid.*, 1648 Tarvisii, 1652 *ibid.*, 1674 Venet., 1711 Londini, 1734 Bassani, 1743 *ibid.*, 1760 Venet., 1802 Matriti impressas partim ipse vidi partim in catalogis descriptas inveni.

(RINUCII EPISTOLA PRIMA: e codd. B t edidi.) MAGNIFICO DOMINO LAURENTIO LAVINA RYNUCIUS FELICITATEM. Ad duo potissimum nititur genus humanum, divitias scilicet ac sapientiam, quarum alterae cum ex alieno pendeant ac
 5 instar ludi talaris nunc unum nunc alium sequantur, illis totum in niti nihil est aliud quam iure insanum fieri; altera vero quoniam in animi ratione consistit et vere nostra possessio est quam nec vetustas labefactare nec tempestas delere nec vis hominum queat destruere, eam non quaerere aut tardi aut certe non sani ingenii est.
 10 Verum quod haec sic se habeant tu tibi satis argumento es qui ad

- utramque partem iam diu versatus aliorum exemplis haud indiges, sed rectum aliis consilium praestare potes, non in alienis sed in suis dumtaxat, hoc est in sapientia, labores suos a quovis esse ponendos. Ego igitur hoc consilio fretus ad ea studia me demum contuli quibus
 15 et mihi et hominibus nostris quovis modo prodessem, et cum plura ad bene beateque vivendum spectantia e graeco in latinum traduxerim, novissime Vitam Aesopi, ut te non fugit, feci latinam ac domino cardinali tituli sancti Chrysogoni ascripsi. Eius copiam tibi in praesentia mitto, quam si trite perlegeris praeter animi delectationem, quam profecto suscipies ingentem, recte cognoscas
 20 illos iure ac merito esse irridendos seu potius spernendos qui rebus terrenis colla devincti humi oculos solum habent defixos, at non de nihilo illos semper fuisse commendatos qui fortunae illecebris semper posthabitis ad verae rationis viam animum erexerunt. Vale atque
 25 meliori particulae ut intendas sicut a parvulo fecisti in diem studiosius ac ardentius te hortor.

13 hoc . . . sapientia *om.* t | 15 modo] pacto t | et cum] Atqui cum t | 20 capies t | 22 oculos humi t | 23 fuisse semper t | 24-26 atque . . . hortor *om.* t.

(RINUCII EPISTOLA ALTERA: e codd. B O t edidi.) REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI ET DOMINO SUO PRAECIPUO DOMINO .A. TITULI SANCTI CHRYSOGONI PRESBITERO CARDINALI RYNUCIUS SE COMMENDAT.

- 5 Quo tempore sanctissimus dominus noster Nicolaus pontifex quintus dum erat in minoribus ad dignitatem cardinalatus fuit promotus, Vitam Aesopi e graeco in latinum eius in nomine te hortatore suasoreque coepi transferre. Sed prius quam illam absolvissem Sanctitas eius ad summi apostolatus fastigium fuit assumpta. Deinde tu ipse
 10 saepius et frequenter me hortatus fuisti ut simul cum vita fabulas quoque traducerem. Quod libenter feci, licet non in tempore quo cupiebam, interveniente ut te non fugit valetudine mala. Accessit tarditas librarii qui non quando debuit sed quando potuit, ne dicam voluit, illam transcripsit. Postremo cum ad extremam deduxerim
 15 manum, considerans pontificalem maiestatem maiora munera decere, eam in hodiernam usque diem dubius cui ascriberem apud me tenui nec illam edidi. Nunc cum Dominatio tua ad eiusdem cardinalatus dignitatem Dei omnipotentis nutu qui virtutem verosque labores quandoque periclitari sed perire minime permittit devenierit, visum
 20 est nimum fore absurdum si hic Aesopus noster alii se dedicaret voveretque quam illi cuius hortatu in Latium venit meis vigiliis lucubrationibusque. Quare si Dominatio tua libenti animo hanc vitam acceperit id profecto efficiet quod per Artaxerxem Persarum regem dici solitum est et a sapientibus comprobatum: non minus regium
 25 esse laeto animo parva accipere quam magna et ampla aliis impendere. Praeterea si quando dabitur otium Dominatio tua semel eam

perlegerit, non dubito quin hunc Aesopum nostrum tuo hortatu factum latinum non modo ut hospitem sed ut familiarem carum habebit.

1 REVERENDO B | 4 RINUCCIUS O | 12 valetudine] egritudine O | 14 illam om. O | 19 minime perire B | 22 tua om. B | 23 accipiet O | 23-26 cf. PLUT Proem. 8-11.

(PROOEMIUM: e codd. T B O edidi.) VITA AESOPI FABULATORIS CLARISSIMI E GRAECO LATINA PER RYNUCIUM FACTA AD REVERENDISSIMUM PATREM DOMINUM ANTONIUM TITULI SANCTI CHRYSOGONI PRESBITERUM
 5 CARDINALEM ET PRIMO PROHEMIUM. Novas nimirum merces, Reverendissime pater, sed haud ignava opum pondera nuper e Graecia in Latium convexi,¹ vitam scilicet Aesopi fabulatoris clarissimi ac eius fabulas quotquot ad manus meas usque pervenerunt, quae si aequum sortientur licitatore, non dubium est quin emptorem facile reperient. Nam ex omnibus quae hactenus ex graecarum opulentia litterarum in Romanae orationis thesaurum his temporibus sunt translata nihil aequae vitae mortali nec aeque appositum prosperis adversisque rebus quam dicta gestaue Aesopi, licet humilia sint, ferme comperietur. Quippe ea rerum series inest ut ad
 10 versa quidem levet et prospera moduletur. Ioci vero ac cavilli multiplex varietudo animos languentes recreat et ad laboris confert cessationem. His accedit quod ad acritatem ingenii non parum adiumenti quivis facile comperiet. Sed cum hinc inde animum verto ac mente singula conspicio qui legitimus huiusmodi studiis licitator
 20 hoc nostro tempore detur haud facile video. Quippe apud maiores nostros principes litteris auctoritatem praestare consueverunt. Hi vero saeculis nostris ita rebus alienis intendunt ut quod proprium suum est id iam diu ex animo deleverint, et si qui reperiuntur hi ita tenui fortuna et angusta siti sunt ut vix intra domesticos eluceant
 25 parietes. In hac tamen proborum caritate licitatorum tuam Dominationem dignam iudicavi cuius auctoritati hunc meum laborem committerem, qui inter ceteras domi forisque ecclesiae Romanae occupationes quicquid otii datum est id totum legendo consumis. Experiatur igitur quaeso, Dominatio tua, quid istae meae lucubrationes hominibus nostris afferant cognoscere, nam tuam expetunt
 30 auctoritatem sine qua in aures publicas prodire non ausint. Sed haec iam satis. Nunc ut res clarius legentibus pateat, loco argumenti pauca suggessi.

1-5 *rub. deest* B | 4-5 *quid habeat* O, *vide supra.* | 5-10 cf. Rin., Plat. Euthyph., Proem. 15-16 | 16 *recreat* languentes B | 20-21 cf. Rin., Plat. Euthyph., Proem. 1 et 14.

¹ Putavit Ravaglius (p. 39, adn. 2) haec verba significare Rinucium e Graecia se suaque rettulisse, sed nihil aliud sunt quam 'e graeco in latinum transtuli.'

(ARGUMENTUM: e codd. T B O edidi.) ARGUMENTUM. Vitam Aesopi fabulatoris clarissimi his longioribus noctibus simul cum fabulis feci latinam ac romano sermone ita instructam ut sine molestia legi et cum facilitate possit intellegi. In hac vita duo
 5 tempora praecipue notanda sunt. Primum tempus est quo servitutum servivit, alterum vero est quo se in libertatem vindicavit. In utroque quaedam scribuntur quae fabularum habent effigiem. Verum enim sive ficta sive sint vera, hoc enim legentium arbitrio relinquo, tantum suci ac saporis continent in se, quod haud insulsa se exhibent
 10 paulo accuratius legentibus. Quare si quis hoc opus trite diligenterque legerit huiusmodi lectio animum suum suasque aures nimirum delectabit.

1 ARGUMENTUM *om.* B | 5 sunt notanda B.

(VITA) AESOPI FABULATORIS CLARISSIMI VITA INCIPIT. *Qui per omnem vitam vitae studiosissimus fuit, is fortuna servus . . . ulți sunt eos qui mortis Aesopi auctores fuerunt.*

(COMMENTARIUM: e codd. T B O edidi.) VITAE AESOPI COMMENTARIUM SUPER FABULIS INSTAR ARGUMENTI INCIPIT. *Aesopus fabulator clarissimus natione quidem phrygius, fortuna vero servus fuit, colore niger ac facie supra modum
 5 deformis sed haec in vita eius scripta superius plena habentur. Is quia beneficus semper in hospites fuit, dea hospitalis in somnis sibi assistens largita est loquelam, nam ab initio blactero fuit, sapientiamque ac variarum fabularum inventionem. Quae porro fabulae non parum conducunt mortalium vitae. Nam animalia bruta fingit
 10 agere ea quae hominum sunt actiones, quas ita ante oculos ponit quod audientium animos incitat ad virtutem. Nec ulli sunt hominum mores quos in brutis fingendo ipse non aperiat. Has igitur fabulas si quis trite gustaverit, quam viam sequi quamque vitare debeat in privatis publicisque negotiis facile comperiet. Nam imprimis fabulam
 15 narrat, tum quid fabula significet compendiosius exponit atque ordinem alphabeti in graeco secutus, qui in latino sermone servari non potest, hinc sumit initium.*

1-3 *rub. deest* B. 6 *beneficus post hospites* O.

(FABULAE) INCIPIUNT FABULAE ET PRIMO DE AQUILA ET VULPE. *Aquila et vulpes conflata inter se amicitia in proximo habitare . . . (fab. 100) iunioribus, nisi penitus obrui se velint.*

(ANACEPHALEOSIS: e codd. T B O edidi.) TOTIUS OPERIS ANACEPHALEOSIS. Habes vitam pariter et fabulas Aesopi fabulatoris eximii, Reverendissime pater, per me nuper verbis latinis indusiatas, non tamen omnes, sed quotquot ad manus meas pervene-

- 5 runt. Quamquam arbitror praeter has si quae reperiuntur esse per-
 paucas. Quod vero longe plures Aesopus confecerit, hinc vel maxime
 coniectari licet, nam in describendo fabulas cum sequatur ordinem
 alphabeti, in his hae deficiunt litterae B Y Φ X atque in aliis pleris-
 que litteris perspicue apparet plenum fabularum numerum non esse.
 10 Quae sive neglegentia scriptorum sive varietate temporum sive ipsa
 vetustate oblitteratae sint, ad saecula nostra non pervenerunt. Quae
 tamen habentur, quia iocunditatem legentibus afferunt et vitae ho-
 minum utilitatem non mediocrem, tuo in nomine feci latinas, ut et
 animi mei affectionem erga te cognoscas et censor exsistas studio-
 15 rum meorum. Quibus invigilasse non frustra putabo, si sapientissimo
 iudicio tuo tuaque auctoritate comprobari comperero. Sed ut ait
 poeta noster eximius: Et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.
 1-2 *rub. deest* B | 4 *intusiatas* T B | 8 B T Φ X *om.* B | 11 sunt B | 17 Verg.
 Georg. II. 542.

ARISTOPHANES, PLUTI frag. vel PENIA FABULA.

Solum *B codicem habemus, 31^r-37^r. Rubricae desunt.

- (RINUCII EPISTOLA) Quo equidem tempore, Reverende pa-
 ter, Graeciam me contuli graecarum dumtaxat cognitione litterarum
 percipiens in diem litteratos et optimorum studiosos morum post-
 poni ignavis et aperte malis hominibus, nec solum postponi sed etiam
 5 pessundari, nec pessundari modo sed dari etiam in servitutum, de
 huiusmodi re quantum tempus et loci ratio mihi tribuit concessitque
 fabulam dedi, quam cum nuperrime inter volvendum codices meos
 repperi, admonitus id vel maxime fieri per eos qui et sancti et reli-
 giosi habiti sunt et in amplo dignitatis gradu constituti et qui magis
 10 videri quam bonos esse volunt, eam ut statim ad te transmitterem
 cogitavi, qui pro tua eximia humanitate horum vanitates deploras
 assidue et ipsorum levitates ineptiasque quadam cum magnitudine
 contemnis despicias floccifacis. Sed nec mirum res non duci ordine
 suo, nam cum virtus par non sit dignitati ipsorum, omnia confundi
 15 et disturbato ordine disponi mirum videri debet nemini. Etenim
 quibus neque doctissimorum hominum praecepta neque clarorum
 exempla virorum suppeditant, hi cum laudem et honestatem, quae
 duo magnopere hac in vita sunt expetenda, neque attingere neque
 sensu valeant gustare, illis aures praestant quotidie qui ad volupta-
 20 tem solum verba faciunt eis, omnes ferme his hominibus verbisque
 delectantur quae suis moribus sunt consentanea diversisque turbantur.
 Sed sinamus eos valere perversis ac impiis moribus suis et
 quem instituimus eundem sequamur sermonem. Habes profecto,
 pater optime, fabulam ut ego arbitror tibi non molestam, cuius si
 25 verbis minus delectaberis res tamen ipsa iocunda tibi poterit videri.
 3-5 cf. Rin., Dem. Or. ad Phil. Epist., Prooem. 32-34.

- (PROOEMIUM AD MATTHAEUM QUENDAM). Cum huius opusculi titulum legeris, videre videor, mi Matthaee, te quam plurimum admirari et admiratione plurima moveri, sed risu longe maiori, si finem operis legendo attigeris. Ea quippe materia est ut alio
5 titulo recte inscribi haudquaquam sane putarim, quam huiusmodi assumpsi ut mihi esset ad solamen, tibi vero ad delectationem. Nam cum animadverterem consuetudine tua faciliora semper mea studia fieri solere, in huiusmodi vero litterarum diversitate te comite socioque carere, non possum et animo non cruciari et tui desiderio
10 non moveri. Scis enim nostrorum aequalium te mihi antiquiorem quippe fuisse neminem. Utinam, mi Matthaee, apud hos hominum barbaros mores haud carerem consuetudine tua. Equidem non dubito quin studia mea leviora essent et iocundiora futura. Verum postquam sive fortuna aliqua sive naturae ratione volente abs te
15 distrahor, quod reliquum ex te mihi est, eo quotidie avidissime fruor. Sic enim res se habet, corpore a te separor, memoriam vero tui neque loci distantia nec vis ulla mortalium nullaue umquam a me segregabit oblivio. Itaque dies nullus praeterit quin tui memoriam etiam atque etiam animo amplectar. Cum itaque te hortatore in
20 his graecarum studiis litterarum careo ac tuo hortatu monituque uti non licet, decrevi hac humili graecaque fabella te ad iocum movere meque ipsum quo valeo modo solari. Quam ipse legens nimirum laetaberis. Nec exspectes argumentum fabulae. Qui primi venient senes, hi eam tibi partem aperient. Verum nomina loquutorum haec
25 videlicet sunt: Blepsidimus, Gurgulio, Chorus agricolarum, et Penia verbum ex graeco verbo expressum.

23-24 cf. Plaut. Trin. 16 sq. | 25 Gurgulio = Χερμύλος.

- (PROLOGUS). Cum Petrus physicus, vir nostri temporis doctissimus et quod perraro apud medicos solet reperiri vir summa eloquentia praeditus, profecturus esset ex negotio Rhetimum oppidum ab urbe Candia quingenta ferme miliaria distans, me sibi tum familiaritate tum mutuo graecarum litterarum studiis coniunctum placuit
5 secum ire. Ego vero illi viro et eloquentia et sapientia ac vitae integritate ornatissimo morem sum obsequutus, quamquam huiusmodi litterarum studiis intercapedinem dare grave fuerit atque molestum. Itaque ante tempus lucanum, cum luna caelo nitido
10 serenoque luceret, iter arripuimus et primo campos patentes tum arduos montes ac demum colles lubricos migrantes in ipso fere meridie ad locum humili sub valle repostum pervenimus, cuius situm paucis accipe verbis. Ab austro mons Idaeus omni fere tempore nivibus onustus, cui contigui quidam praeruptissimi scopuli locum illum ab
15 urbe Candia disterrimantes in mari prorumpunt. Ab septentrione montes quoque altissimi eam vallem atque mare intermedii sunt.

Ab occidente se explicant campi non tamen multum aperti. Hac itaque humili valle unicum exstat diversorium, nulla vetustate redolens (non enim Minois fuit palatium nec Iovis magnifica tecta sed
 20 Saturni temporibus longe magis congruens), ad viatorum commodum opportune ea in solitudine locoque silvestri dumtaxat aedificatum. Exstat autem domus haec non marmore Pario non lapide Numidico non ebore non denique quapiam industria aut materia nobili perfecta, verum lignae bicornes sine perpolitione aut ornatu aliquo
 25 limen ostii subeuntes ipsas columnas suppleunt. Crates viminibus contextae parietes efficiunt. Canna palustris tectum ab imbre defendit. Huius si dominos domus requiras, duo quidem tantum sunt, vir scilicet et coniunx iuvenilibus iuncti annis unaque ad tantam iam iam decrepitem profecti ut cuiusque iudicio mors utrique potior sit quam ipsa vita. Idem iubent tremula voce idemque parent
 30 tardissimo ingressu et quod sibi felicissimum puto vivunt exiguo melius. Dum hic requiem necessario captamus, potu et pabulo equos reficimus nosque mero epulisque operam damus. Quae ex quorundam agrorum cultoribus, qui penes nos ibi convenerant, graece percepi audivique, ea latinis verbis pro dignitate cuiusque
 35 breviter tibi aperiam ac explicabo simpliciter. Hos enim inter agricolas exstant senes duo qui totius ferme sermonis seriem consumunt. Horum alteri nomen est Blepsidimus, alteri vero Gurgulio. His equidem Petrus et ego attentas praebui aures, miratus tum loquutores ipsos omni formitate deformes (nam ea forma erant ut neque
 40 homines neque beluae sed nova quaedam monstra visa sunt) tum illius materiam sermonis quae cuiusque doctissimi ac eruditissimi viri vigiliis contemplationibusque digna penitus videretur. Adverte iam, nam Blepsidimus sic circumstantibus orsus est.

4 Candida B | 14 cui] qui quum B | 15 candida B | 26-29 cf. Ovid. Met. VIII. 620-623.

(PENIA FABULA, SCAENA I.) BLEPS. O socii, mihi tum mutua benivolentia vicinitateque iuncti tum et maxime in rebus angustis, ad nostrae calamitatis solamen dicam breviter de quibus solitus sum continuo admirari. Sum ea aetate, ut videtis, ad quam
 5 <a nemine> praeter paucos pervenitur. Credo simpliciter et sincera mente confiteor Deum optimum maximumque cuncta recte et iure gubernare. Hanc ob rem mirari soleo quo quidem pacto ad improbos tantum divitiae perveniant, probi vero eo usque indigeant. Hoc a maioribus nostris saepenumero percepi, idem vidi expertusque
 10 sum ac quotidie magis experior, qui cum caste pieque per universam vitam usque ad hanc aetatem perpetuo vixerim, res domi quam umquam fuerit nunc in praesentia angustior est, et sic prorsus angusta ut ne quid faciam equidem scio, hac praesertim aetate qua quiescere et posse et debere sperabam, idque de plurimis possem referre, quos

- 15 iure videor reticere, cum vos ipsi coram assistentes quorum vita semper integra ac laudabilis fuit eodem in statu una mecum versari videmini. Parte ex alia video improbos sacrilegos sycophantas libidinosos petulantes audaces omni flagitio ac turpitudine notatos divitiarum copia et elegantia pollere. Quam ob rem quanto super
- 20 hoc magis magisque cogito eo maiori admiratione afficior. GUR. Non miror, mi Blepsidime, rem illam te admirari quae summis hominibus ac eruditissimis viris admirationi fuisse saepenumero percepi. Nam cum ex negotio Candiam frequentabam semel equidem interfui ubi celebrato convivio, cum plures adessent nobiles ac nonnulli
- 25 ut audivi viri litteratissimi, quaestio haec delata fuit in medium. Ibi si memini (memini equidem) dictum est divitias specie et forma hominem esse, capite manibus pedibus ceterisque membris praeter oculos compositum, oculis vero nescio quo pacto invidia bonorum fuisse orbatum. Hic ut aiunt apud grammaticos <Πλοῦτος> nominatur.
- 30 Praeterea probe memini dictum etiam fuisse ex quo tempore Plutus oculos perdidit his modo solitum est <se> dedere qui ei obviam primi occurrunt, quia luminis orbitate cognoscere potuit bonorum neminem. Verum enim si lumina sibi redderentur, apud probos dumtaxat cohabitaret, improbos sane summa in calamitate desereret. Multaque
- 35 praeterea cognitione et auditu dignissima ad utramque partem disputata fuere, quae ego vir rudis ingenio tardus ac insolito aspectu tantorum virorum penitus lapis gorgoneus nec sensu attingere nec ratione percipere nec mandare memoriae quivi. Habes causam, mi Blepsidime, quam ob rem boni careant divitiis, mali vero illis abundant.
- 40 BLEPS. Plutus ergo ut ais caecus est? GUR. Est. BLEPS. Aisne? GUR. Aio quidem. BLEPS. Nimirum? GUR. Prorsus. BLEPS. Quod caecus est? GUR. Dixi. BLEPS. Nunc desino mirari si ad me profectus est numquam. GUR. Hah, si dii velint oculos sibi reddere. BLEPS. Esset opus opere et medicorum cura.
- 45 GUR. Quos medicos aut hic aut ubique invenies locorum? BLEPS. Minime est mirum, nam huic arti dignum non solvitur praemium, tamen id consideremus. GUR. Nullus profecto exstat praesertim tempore isto. BLEPS. Sic mihi visum est. GUR. Hah, memini quoque intellexisse priscis temporibus deum quandam his in vallibus
- 50 solitum coli qui caecis oculos restituebat ac visum quacumque ratione deperditum restaurabat. Optimum factu esset si voto et precibus id consequi possemus. BLEPS. Dum itaque tempus et otium datur, huius rei periculum faciamus. GUR. Eo prae. BLEPS. Immo te expedias. GUR. Id ipsum facio. Vos me sequimini.
- 55 CHORUS. Lubenter venimus et sequimur te volupe.

5 a nemine inserui | 10-19 cf. Aristoph. Plut. 28-31 | 23 candidam B | 23 sqq. cf. Plat. Sympos. | 28-34 cf. Aristoph. Plut. 87-98 | 29 Πλοῦτος inserui; fortasse supplendum erat Pluti epitheton | 31 se inserui | 40-48 = Aristoph. Plut. 403-409 | 52-54 = Aristoph. Plut. 413-414.

(PENIA FABULA, SCAENA II.) Cum Gurgulio Blepsidimusque ac reliquorum chorus agrestium iter adornant, ecce mulier pannis pariter et annis obsita, gracilis faciem ac rugosa, colore mustellino, flammeis oculis, adunca nasum, buccis fluentibus, curva humeros,
 5 tremula gressus, quae graece Penia latine vero Paupertas dicitur, illos insequitur ac rauca voce declamat. *PEN. O fidem deum atque hominum. O facinus indignum. O scelestos homines. O derelictos ab omni humanitate. Hem me tantopere fugitis?* *GUR. Papae, quid hoc hominis?* *CHORUS. Nunc sapere oportet et in*
 10 *verbis maxime cavere, nam non parva de re agitur.*

2-3 pannis . . . obsita: cf. Ter. Eun. 236 | 3 colore mustellino: Ter. Eun. 689 | 4 buccis fluentibus: Cic. de Or. II. 66, 266 | 6 sqq. = Aristoph. Plut. 416-488.

(PENIA FABULA, SCAENA III.) Conticuere omnes intentione ora tenebant, cum sic Gurgulio. *GUR. Ego quidem arbitror hoc plane cuique patere quod probis bene esse iustum sit, improbis autem contra* *PEN. Hui. Revocabitisne me?* *GUR. Fortassis, sed nunc tempus abeundi.* BLEPS. Gurgulio. *GUR. Hem.*
 5 BLEPS. Edepol, si dives fuero, triticum a gurgulionibus non amplius mundabo. *GUR. Sati* est plus scire quam loqui. *CHORUS.* Videre videor diem adventare qua otio et requie frui denique licebit. BLEPS. Propediem. Sed quod iam coepimus, id facinus sequamur.
 10 — Illi abierunt. Nos nostrum ad iter divertimus. Tu vale et plaude.

1-2: Verg. Aen. II. 1 | 2 sqq. usque ad "abeundi" = Aristoph. Plut. 489-610, multis omissis.

ARISTOTELES, DE MUNDO

Solum *V codicem 121^r-131^r habemus. Rinucii Epistola f. 131^r reperitur.

(RINUCII EPISTOLA) REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI DOMINO .A. TITULI SANCTI CHRYSOGONI PRESBITERO CARDINALI RINUCIUS SE COMMENDAT. Quem tuo hortatu nuper e Graecia in Latium traduxi, is tractatus verbis
 5 latinis ac romano habitu, omni fere graecitate ommissa, postquam in conspectum sanctissimi domini nostri Nicolai papae quinti cui dedicatus est se contulit, tibi procidatum ac salutatum pro debito sui officii accedit, afferens secum huius totius orbis et universalis machinae quae mundus vocatur brevem et non difficile cognitionem, nam in
 10 primis situm et ordinem ipsius mundi et eorum quae continentur in mundo trite ac diligenter aperit. Deinde disserit per quem et quomodo haec ipsa machina regatur guberneturque ea verborum elegan-

tia et acritate venusta ut lectorem mediocriter etiam eruditum ad se legendum pelliceat. Qua re tuae humanitatis erit ex quo in Latium
15 abs te accitus venerit ita benigne ipsum suscipere ut cognoscat se non frustra paruisse mandatis. Vale.

4 latinum V | 5 obmissa V | 6 .S. d. nostri V

(PROOEMIUM) SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO NICOLAO PAPAE QUINTO RINUCIUS HUMILITER SE COMMENDAT. Exhortationibus reverendissimi patris domini .A. tituli sancti Chrysogoni presbiteri cardinalis ac verae sapientiae professoris
5 his longioribus noctibus opusculum de Mundo sive Cosmographia ad Alexandrum e graeco transtuli in latinum. Cuius operis quis fuerit auctor apud eruditos varia est opinio, nam alii Aristotelem esse asserunt, nonnulli Theophrastum, quorum neutrum fuisse qui trite ac diligenter inspexerit facillime comperiet, licet character qui rectum
10 et minime fallax de huiusmodi rebus exhibet iudicium ad Theophrastum magis declinet. Sed hoc videant quos in enumerandis codicibus ac eorum auctoribus labor solum agitat. Quisquis tamen ille fuerit, non nisi doctus et elegans fuit, qui tot res tam paucis tam apposite tam distincte atque laute cum summa elegantia explanavit.
15 Sed redeat unde sermo discessit. Exhortationibus antedictis libentissime acquievi, tum rei honestate tum utilitate futura. Quod enim honestius aut utilius studium dari potest quam illa in lucem reducere quae cum summo decore ac iucunditate et sibi et suis hominibus sint profutura? Itaque licet multi et ampli viri de huiusmodi re
20 latius scripserint, hoc tamen opus etsi compendiosum sit fore tamen arbitror et eruditis ad intellegendum ac rudibus ad huius rei notitiam introducendam non longe minus commodum. Verum enim cum cogitarem cui has meas vigilias dedicarem, nemini magis condignum iudicavi quam tuae sanctitati ascribere, qui in terris vicarius
25 illum ipsum repraesentans huius totius machinae quae mundus et caelum appellatur creatorem opificemque. Quare ipsum opus tuae Sanctitati ascripsi non ut aliquam tibi traderem eruditionem, quippe ridiculus forem si Minervam quod aiunt litteras edoceram, cum si quis temporibus nostris eruditus ac perdoctus sit, tu ille non de nihilo
30 haberis existimarisque, qui a puero litteris nutritus ab ineunte aetate celeberrimis studiis apud doctissimos homines educatus ac liberalibus artibus formatus, in aetate virili per omnes dignitatum gradus ad summi apostolatus usque fastigium non bonis externis non corporis <viribus> non ambitione sed sola morum sanctimonia ac bonarum artium eruditione deveneris, ad quod fastigium ubi fuisti assumptus
35 mature ecclesiam per singula membra languentem ad statum fere suum redintegrasti, cum eius patrimonium inter satellites ac manipulares dissipatum ad aedes sacras ad urbis moenia iam multis saeculis diruta et ad deperdita bonarum artium studia restaurenda conver-

40 teris, cum litteras e suo domicilio, hoc est curia romana, distermi-
natas ac omnino prostratas ad locum proprium reduceris, cum
dignitates ac publica munera prius venalia non ambientibus nec
indemeritis sed bene merentibus et non petentibus gratis contuleris,
et ita ambitioni manus abstraxeris ut sub te principe non amplius
45 locum habeat vetus illud apud graecos proverbium, omnem virtutem
ac sapientiam superare testitudinem. Praeterea cum ipsam eccle-
siam scismate scissam ac divisam summo consilio ac singulari pru-
dentia iam fere unieris, cum et populi devotionem et divinum cultum
sive vitio sive negligentia praesidentium diu neglectum cura opere
50 et vigilantia restitueris ac expulsis bellorum turbinibus pacem otium
et tranquillitatem statui ecclesiae non secus ac Triptolemus mortali-
bus semina ita studiose largitus sis ut quisque nominis Christi et eius
ecclesiae amator elevatis ad caelum manibus illud evangelicum me-
rito dicere possit, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Verum
55 de laudibus tuis alias accumulatus. Nunc ad propositum redeat
oratio. Hoc igitur opusculum tuae Sanctitati dedicavi ut solum et
animi gratiam et mittentis affectionem recognoscas, cum nemini vitio
detur ut deum colat quoquo modo possit, quod sciri licet apud sae-
culum vetus, ubi non omnes immolabant hecatombas nec culmos
60 aureos diis sacrabant, sed qui non habebant ceu rustici lacte solum
aut mola salsa litabant, quae litationes licet essent minusculae forte
diis nihilominus gratae fuerunt si in dandis accipiendisque muneri-
bus non rei species sed mittentis spectandus sit animus pariter et
affectio. Sed iam ad interpretationem festinat oratio.

22 introducendum V | 24-55 cf. BRUT Prooem. 32-44 | 34 viribus *inserui*
| 37 reintegrasti V | 49 sine (*bis*) V | 51 triptolomus V | 57 grati V | 59-60 cf.
Rin., Plat. Crito, Prooem. 6-7.

(ARISTOTELIS PROOEMIUM) PROHEMIUM SUPER
TRACTATU DE MUNDO SIVE COSMOGRAPHIA AD ALEX-
ANDRUM. *Divina quaedam ac beata res... dignum est ac decorum.*

TRACTATUS INCIPIT. *Mundus est ex caelo et terra ac ex
illis . . . et observat, is felix ac beatus indilate futurus existit.*

BRUTUS, EPISTOLAE LXX

Graece apud Hercher, *Epistolog. Gr.*, Paris. 1873, pp. 177-191, *Ep.*
1-16, 29-30, 51-58, 17-20, 31-32, 69-70, 35-50, 21-28, 59-68, 33-
34, i. e. Bruti epistolae xxxv cum totidem responsis.¹

¹ Translatio latina quae graecis epistolis apud Hercher adiungitur ex Rinucii trans-
latione partim sumpta est.

Codices: [Non vidi **Escorial. a. IV. 12 ff. 34^v-61*, scriptum "Neapoli 1468 x. Iulii etc." (cf. Antolin, *Cat. Cod. Lat.* vol. I. 1910); *ibid. o. III. 1 et s. II. 11* (Haenel)] Quos vidi in quinque disposui familias: Optima familia (= *a*) ex tribus solis consistit codicibus emendatissimis ab ipso archetypo descriptis, scilicet, (1) **V. 101^r-109^v* (Prooemium Epistolas sequitur); (2) **B. 95^r-107^r*; (3) *Vat. 3573* = *N*, pulcherrimus, Nicolai V. stemmate ornatus. His tribus deest Rinucii Epistola.

Ab archetypo quoque descriptus est codex alius = *x*, qui ad Laur. de Columna una cum Rinucii Epistola¹ missus inter optimos fuisset numerandus, nisi verba *ac cultum vivendi meliorem* (Prooem. ll. 5-6) omisisset. Ab *x* codice originem traxit familia *b*, ex xix constans codicibus, quorum meliores sunt sex, scilicet: (4) *Bodleian. Canon. lat. 155* 50^r-62^r = *b*. Continet Rinucii Epistolam. Desunt pleraeque rubricae. (5) *Florent. Magl. vi. 203* 46^v-54^v. Continet Rinucii Epistolam. (6) *Laurent. 47-25* 91^r-116^r. (7) *Vat. 1043* ccxxxiii^v-ccxliiii^r, scriptus a Jacobo Hispaniensi pro R(oderico) Episc. Ovetensi (1458-68), ut apparet ex epistola quadam quae ante Prooem. (ccxxxiii^r) invenitur. (8) *Marcian. xiii. 86* 2^r-25^r, evanidus, scriptus "per me Lodonichum filium .d. Girardi de colonio Die xxvii. martii 1479." (9) *Marcian. xi. 77* 5^r-6^v, ubi ad Bruti Epistolas a Lampo Birago translata adiunxit manus posterior Rinucii Prooem. et Epistolam.

Deteriores vero familiae *b* sunt novem, scilicet: (10) *Ambros. I. 34 Sup. 2* 43^r-54^v. (11) *ibid. T. 20 Sup. 170^r-183^v*. Desunt Prooem., rubricae omnes. (12) *Laurent. 76-34* 11^r-34^r, "Liber Petri de Medicis Cos. F.," stemmate ornatus. (13) *ibid. *Ashburn. 1721* 59^r-77^r. (14) **Florent. Magl. viii. 53* 68^r-81^v. (15) *Arundel. 154 in Mus. Brit.* 25^r-31^v. Continet Rinucii Epistolam. (16) *Bodleian. Canon. Misc. 225* 45^v-50^v. Continet Rinucii Epistolam. (17) **Vat. 1781* 85^r-101^v. (18) *ibid. 5221* 24^r-30^r, post 1461 scriptus, cuius anni bullam eadem manu scriptam continet.

A libris impressis descripti sunt quattuor codices quos familiae *b* ascripsimus. A libro H 6194 (vide infra 3 b) descriptus est codex (19) **Vat. Urb. 1313* 80^v-93^v, exceptis rubricis (cf. Prooem. l. 7 *ab*, l. 17 *Pergami regem*] *pergameum*, l. 26 *gerunt*, l. 47 *multa*] *om.*). A libro H 12885 (vide infra 2 a) vel H 13255 (vide infra 2 b), ut e rubricis textuque

¹ Hodie reperitur haec Epistola in solis quinque codicibus: vide infra, num. 4, 5, 9, 15, 16.

constat, originem duxerunt tres codices, scilicet: (20) *Vat. Reg. 1402* 6^r-14^r; (21) *Bernensis 550* 106^v-117^v; (22) *in Mus. Brit. Add. 17485* 2^r-4^r, cui desunt et Prooem. et octo Bruti Tralliorumque Epistolae (num. 19-26), ceterae autem lxii videntur hoc ordine sese habere: 1-10, 13-14, 29-30, 11-12, 51-58, 15-18, 27-28, 31-32, 31-50, 59-70.

Ab aliquo familiae *b* codice, qui et Rinucii Epistola et rubricis carebat, originem duxerunt tres codices boni (= familia *c*), qui in Prooemio vocabula *is* (l. 35) *et* (l. 47) omittunt, et in Epist. 48 *epulescunt* (pro *opulescunt*) habent, scilicet: (23) *Berolin.* 4^o. 566 83^r-99^r, (24) *Paris.* 8607 47^r-58^v, scriptus "1456. xxvii. Ian.," (25) *Marcian. x.* 64 39^r-49^v, scriptus Bononiae 1464.

Ab aliquo familiae *c* codice descriptus est codex deterrimus = *y*, qui non modo plura omisit (Prooem. l. 30 *in*, totam Epistolam undecimam, Epist. 48 *epulescunt*) sed etiam in Prooemio nova exhibuit menda (l. 6 *ceu*] *certe*, ll. 17-18 *Opinianus cilox*, l. 21 *commendatissimum*, l. 37 *et ex*] *ac ex*, l. 42 *maximum*). Initio operis inserta est haec rubrica: EPISTOLARUM BRUTI PER DOMINUM RANUTIUM E GRAECO IN LATINUM TRADUCTARUM AD SANCTISSIMUM DOMINUM NOSTRUM PROHEMIUM INCIPIT FELICITER. Animadvertendum est pontificis nomen omissum esse. Ceterae rubricae aut nullae aut brevissimae erant.

Ab *y* codice originem traxerunt familiae *d* et *e*. Familia *d* (cf. Prooem. l. 5 *seu vitae*] *servitute*) ex quattuor constat codicibus pessimis: (26) *Vat.* 1782 93^r-119^r. (27) *ibid. Palat.* 1796 46^v-59^r, ab E. G. anno 1463 scriptus. Desunt rubricae. (28) *Paris.* 8608 57^v-72^v. (29) *Catanen. Ventimil.* 25 36^r-49^v, imperfectus. Prooem. ad "Nicolaum papam quintum" inscribitur.

Ab eodem codice *y* originem duxit familia *e*, quae e septem constat codicibus, in quos de familia *a* inserta sunt illa verba "ac cultum vivendi meliorem" (Prooem. ll. 5-6). (30) *Roman. Valicell. C.* 71 66^r-84^v. Prooemium "ad Eugenium Sanctissimum dñm nostrum" inscribitur. Epistola undecima, quae ceteris codicibus familiarum *d* et *e* deest, post duodecimam inserta est. (31) *Vindobon.* 3202 117^v-128^r. Prooemium "ad Eugenium sumum (sic) dominum nostrum" inscribitur. (32) *Monacen.* 5386 209^r-217^v. Prooemium "ad Euge^m sumum d. n." inscribitur. (33) *ibid.* 487 6^r-19^r, scriptus ab Hartmanno Schedelio "anno 1469. die undecima septembris In augusta." Prooemium "ad

Eugenium papam Sanctissimum dominum nostrum" inscribitur. (34) *ibid.* 26616 55^v-72^r. Prooemium "ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum Nicolaum papam Quintum" inscribitur. (35) *Vat.* 5118 1^r-17^r. Desunt rubricae. (36) *Vat. Barb.* 75 35^r-47^r. Desunt rubricae.

(37) Restat *Vat.* 6870, saec. XVII., qui ff. 51^r-52^r solas Epist. I-X. continet.

Libri impressi: (1) Libellus mendosissimus, H 4025 (R 1.) = P. 3046. Continet nihil praeter Epistolas 1-10, 12-70. Desunt autem rubricae et epistolarum salutationes fere omnes. A nescioquo codice familiae *d* vel *e* originem duxit, quamquam in Epist. 48 haud deest vocabulum "opulescunt" (vide supra). (2) (a) Epistolae Phalaridis Bruti Cratis, H 12885 (C 1.) = P 3045 (fragmentum e foliis 58^r-74^v constans). Deest Rinucii Epistola. Huiusmodi exhibet rubricas duplices: "Raimitii in catalogum Mitridatis de epistolis .M. bruti ad Nicolaum quintum pontificem maximum praefatio foeliciter incipit; |(S)Anc-tissimo domino nostro Nicolao papae quinto raimitius cum devotione reverentiae votum," et alia generis eiusdem. A nescioquo codice familiae *b* originem traxit. (b) Poncii Rhetorica etc., Bruti et Cratis Epistolae etc., H 13255 (C 1.). Bruti Epistolae a Rinucio conversae ff. 41^r-50^r inveniuntur, quas de praecedenti libro esse sumptas et e rubricis et e textuum collatione constat. (3) (a) Diogenis Bruti (ff. 23-36) Hippocratis Epistolae anno 1487 x. kalen. Iulias Florentiae impressae, H 6193 (C 11. Add.); et (b) idem liber peraeque eodem colophone sed textu emendatiusculo impressus, H 6194 (C 1.). Hi libri a nescioquo codice familiae *b* originem duxerunt. Deest Rinucii Epistola. (c) *De libro mendosiore* (H 6193) impressus est liber Florentiae anno 1492 x. Kalen. Iulias, H 6195 (R v.).¹ (d) *De libro meliore* (H 6194) impressus est liber Florentiae anno 1505 "Die Decimonono Decembris." (e) *Avenione Idib. Octob. 1497 impressus est liber*, H 10268 (C 1.), qui post Luciani opuscula Epistolas Bruti et Diogenis de libro meliore (H 6194) sumptas continet. (f) Idem liber Paris. 1505 "xxiii. mensis Decembris" iterum impressus. (g) Liber [anno 1500] impressus, H 10500 (C 1. R 11.), qui Maumetis Diogenis Bruti (ff. 26-34) Hippocratis Epistolas continet. Bruti Epistolas de libro H 6194 vel simillimo sumptas esse constat. Deest Rinucii Prooemium. (h) Epist. Lacon. Farrigines,

¹ A. Caronti, *Cat. Bibl. Univ.*, Bologna, 1889.

ed. Cognatus, Basileae 1554. Bruti Epistolae una cum Prooemio de prioribus huius familiae libris sumptae pp. 24–62 reperiuntur. (i) Epistolia, Dialogi breves, etc., ed. H. Stephanus 1577. Altera parte pp. 22–39 inveniuntur Bruti Epistolae, quas de Cognati editione sumpsit Stephanus. (Vide quae de Rinucii translatione P. I. p. 274 sqq. dixit.) (k) Liber graece et latine s. l. a. et typ. n. (saec. XVI.) impressus. In-scribitur “ΦΑΛΑΡΙΔΟΣ | TYRANNOY | Ἀκραγαντίων | ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ. | PHALARIDIS | TYRANNI | Agrigentiorum | EPISTOLAE.” Post Phalaridis Epistolas continet pp. 188–237 Bruti Epistolarum textum graecum translationemque Rinucianam. Idem est ordo epistolarum ac in plerisque editionibus graecis. Deest Prooemium.

(RINUCII EPISTOLA: e cod. b edidi.) LAURENTIO DE COLUMNA RINUCIUS LONGANIMITATEM. Nonnullas M. Bruti epistolas in nomine sanctissimi domini nostri Nicolai papae quinti e graeco feci latinas, quo tempore curia ob pestem novissime
5 recessit ab urbe, verbis quidem breves sed gravitate dicendi longe ampliores, opus profecto principum auribus dignum et eo maxime quia nihil fere dicitur in illis quod maiorem quandam prae se non ferat maiestatem. Quod tute paulo accuratius legens nimirum comprobabis. Vale.

1–2 *rub. deest b* | 2 Longanimitatem *Bodl. Can. Misc. 225 et Marcian. xi. 77*
| 4 ex b | 9 Vale *om. b.*

(PROOEMIUM: e codd. V B N b edidi.) SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO NICOLAO PAPAE QUINTO RINUCIUS CUM DEVOTIONE REVERENTIAE VOTUM. Solent, beatissime pater, qui invigilant alicui operi quod ad mores hominum
5 spectet vel rerum notionem seu vitae decorem ac cultum vivendi meliorem, illud principibus ceu diis in terris sacrare. Quem morem nimirum commendatione dignum et a religione minime alienum a Iovis saeculo initium habuisse et ad nostra usque tempora servatum reperio. Nam cum Iupiter eiecto de regno patre Sa-
10 turno maiorem vitae partem in Olympo monte coleret, quicumque quippiam novi invenissent, quod vitae hominum usui fuisset, ad ipsum veniebant ac ei suas inventiones dedicabant. Hunc ipsum morem posteros deinde servasse exemplis sciri potissimum licet. Quippe Aesopus fabulator egregius fabularum opusculum
15 quod graece conscripsit Croeso Lydorum regi sacravit. Nicander quoque Pergamenus auctor vetustissimus Theriaca et Alexipharmaca versu hexametro edita ad Attalum Pergami regem perscripsit. Op-
pianus Cilix poeta sui saeculi non obscurus poema suum de natura piscium versu hexametro compositum Commodio imperatori devovit.
20 Cui Commodio Iulius quoque Polydeuces opus de rerum vocabulis

- emendatissimum dedicavit, idemque alii quam plures suis temporibus fecisse traduntur, quos percensere non datur in praesentia locus. Horum igitur vestigia secutus, quaedam epistolia M. Bruti graece conscripta quo tempore ipse et Cassius mortuo Caesaris bellum cum
- 25 Dolabella pro Asia Syriaque provinciis, sibi per senatum decretis, gesserunt, et quae quidam Mithridates, vir sane haud rudis sed in dicendo satis peritus, hinc inde dispersa coegit ac illis pro sua exercitatione ingenii characterem Bruti imitando rescripsit, ut in epistola sua inferius scripta dilucide patet, his noctibus proxime brevioribus
- 30 tuo in nomine feci latina. Quod nemini absurdum debet videri. Quippe si illis licuit inventiones suas principibus sui saeculi sacrare, cur mihi fas non sit meas lucubrationculas illi dedicare qui in terris vicarius est eius qui verae sapientiae fons et origo ac veri laboris magister et actor extitit et existit, et maxime cum eius thronum in terris hoc
- 35 nostro saeculo is teneat qui iure ac merito pontifex appellatur propterea quod pontem quibusvis ad verae virtutis fastigium adire cupientibus verbo et opere efficit amotis bellorum turbinibus et ex agro domini malis fruticibus evulsis scismate singulari prudentia sublato nec minori consilio iniquatione ecclesiae Dei ac Christia-
- 40 norum ludibrio abolitis, litteris quoque disciplinarumque studiis iam diu exterminatis et floccifactis in sedem suam favendo pariter ac fovendo redactis, et quod maxime mirum est his omnibus summa celeritate confectis. Sed de his loco et tempore accumulatus, si vita dabitur et otium, dicetur. Nunc ne nimium vageatur oratio red-
- 45 eat unde discessit. Itaque, beatissime pater, huiusmodi epistolas eidem Sanctitati tuae qua decet reverentia offero. Quae licet sint breves et sine multa pompa verborum, dicendi tamen gravitati si tua Sanctitas paulo diligentius aures praestabit, nimirum et procul dubio caras habebit.

1-3 *rub. deest* B b | 3 REVERENTIAE *om.* N | 3-23 *cf.* Rin., Plat. Euthyph. Prooem. 1-17 | 5-6 *ac* . . . meliorem *om.* b | 6 *sceu* V seu N | 6-7 *cf.* Rin., Plat. Crito, Prooem. 3-4 | 11 fuissent B | 16 Alexifarmaca VBNb | 17 et 19 exametro VBNb | 18 Cylex VBN cilex b | 19 et 20 Comodo VBNb | 20 Poli deuces VBNb | 21 *quam*] *quom* b | 25 Dolobella VBNb | 26 Methrydates VBN Mitridates b | 27 collegit b | 30 latinas VB | 32-44 *cf.* Rin., Aristot. de Mundo, Prooem. 24-55 | 34 auctor b | 36-37 *cf.* Rin., Diog. Hippoc. Eur., Prooem. 16 | 38 domini *om.* N | fruticibus N b fructibus V | 40 oblitis b | 41 *ac*] *et* N.

(MITHRIDATIS PRAEFATIO) MITHRIDATES MITHRIDATI NEPOTI SALUTEM. *Bruti epistolas iterum ac saepius sum admiratus . . . cum dilucide tenentur inconsulte facilia ducuntur.*

(BRUTI EPISTOLAE) MITHRIDATIS COLLECTIO EPISTOLARUM BRUTI. *Brutus Pergamenis. Audio vos Dolabellae dedisse pecunias, quas si quidem . . . (Epist. 70) quod exhibere nequeunt id eos denegare necesse est.*

**DECRETA ATHENIENSIIUM ex DEMOSTHENIS OR.
de CORONA**

Graece in Or. de Cor. reperiuntur haec xxi documenta, scilicet: §§ 29, 37 sq., 39, 73 sq., 75, 77 sq., 84, 90 sq., 92, 115, 116, 118, 154, 155, 157, 164, 165, 166, 167, 181 sqq., 289.

Codices: *V 109^v-115^r; *Harvardiensis* 25 5^r-18^r = H;² *Paris. 8729 63^r-74^v; *Vat. Ottobon.* 1455.

(PROOEMIUM: e codd. V H edidi.) RINUCCIUS POGGIO
SUO ORATORI EXIMIO FELICITATEM. Ille rem optimam
et sibi salutarem facere dicendus iure videtur, suavissime mi Poggi,
qui quod sit perpetuo suum ad id animum continue excutit reque
5 illa mentem semper intendit. Ea vero nostra appellare simpliciter
possumus quae non ab aliis optamus sed a nobis ipsis impetramus ut
virtus ut honestas ut sapientia ac reliquae bonae artes quae ad bo-
nam frugem nos semper perseverant, quoniam his animus innixus
non periculis terretur, non cupiditatibus tangitur, non adversis flec-
10 titur, neque a tempestatibus loco movetur, sed excellens ac modera-
tus cum in has artes ceu in suam possessionem semel venerit, cetera
omnia perinde quasi ipso minora despicit, verum quae ab aliis im-
petrantur, ut aurum adamas mensae argenteae lati fundi pinguis
cultae opes fasces atque imperia, imbecilla sunt ac eo incerta ut nemo
15 exploratum habeat ad vespertas esse usque duratura. Quorum ful-
gore qui trahitur (trahuntur autem per plures) non secus ex alieno
pendet quam rudis ac imperitus agricola, qui aut arborum proceri-
tatem miratur aut ramorum altitudinem aut foliorum opacitatem,
fructus vero qui vera sunt frux non advertit nec intuetur, qui si ocu-
20 los hebes non esset, cognosceret profecto quod freni aurei blactera-
tique non meliores efficiunt equos nec domum parietes depicti nec
vas aureum reddit vinum magis suave. Quippe divitiae atque opes
ab animi dignitate longe superantur, quoniam sapientiae ac virtutis,
quae nostra sunt, stabilis est et firma possessio, quae eripi ab homine
25 nulla vi potest nec fortunae subiacere ictibus. Quare ista quidem
nostra dicuntur, cetera vero ut opes et divitiae appellantur externa,
quae nobiscum non permanent sed nos nunc sequuntur nunc vero
deserunt. Ideo possessio appellatur non ut quibusdam placet, id
est pedem ponere, sed post sequi vis verbi eius significat ad imita-
30 tionem graecorum apud quos possessio κτήμα dicitur, id est post
nos. Nempe cum vitam praesentem ingredimur nihil horum nobis-
cum afferimus, sed ista post sequuntur, et cum e vita decedimus,
nihil quoque eorum exportamus sed post remanent, id est humi

² E. K. Rand, *A Harvard Ms., etc.*, in *Amer. Journ. of Philol.*, XXVI, 291 sqq.

- relinquuntur. Quod et Lucianus philosophus apud graecos eximius
 35 sentire videtur in eo dialogo, qui inscribitur Necricus, ubi Charonem
 introducit Mercurio iubentem ut neminem mortuorum nisi nudum
 rerum omnium in scaphidio admittat, sed humi cuncta relinquere
 illos cogat, quae si nostra essent, nec Charon nec alius portitor illa
 ne exportaremus prohibere posset. Prohibitio enim de alienis exis-
 40 tit. At sua quovis locorum cuique asportare ius est, quae res dicto
 Biantis qui unus inter septem sapientes est nominatus aperte etiam
 comprobatur. Is cum patria ab hostibus diriperetur ac civium quis-
 que de rebus suis asportaret, admonitus ut ipse faceret idem, inquit:
 Ego quidem facio, nam quae mea sunt mecum porto: praeclara
 45 quidem vox et viro sapiente digna, qui non putavit suum quod e
 fortuna penderet. Quare cum reliqua rerum nostrarum post nos
 alium et alium sortiantur dominum, ille merito dicitur optima facere
 qui ea facit quae cum semel coeperint sua esse numquam desinunt.
 Hanc sententiam licet exemplis ac rationibus variis esse veram com-
 50 probetur, nihil me in ea magis corroborat quam decreta quaedam quae
 reperio in Atheniensium senatu difficillimo rei publicae tempore fuisse
 constituta, qui cum sibi nec ingenium nec ratio nec mens nec consil-
 ium nec potentia deesset, statum rei publicae quin funditus rueret
 stabilire non potuerunt eo quod non sua sed res erat aliena. At virtus
 55 doctrina ac reliquae bonae artes, quia res suae fuere, ista manent per-
 petuoque manebunt dum erit in terris hominum memoria. Haec
 decreta quia scitu digna censui et rerum publicarum gubernaculis
 utilissima, ea ut hominibus quoque nostris nota forent, tuo in nomine
 feci latina, quae si pro tua admirabili rerum ac disciplinarum notione
 60 diligenter triteque perlegeris intelliges profecto frustra esse in alienis
 rebus conatus ac labores mortalium omnis. Sed de his in praesentia
 satis. Iam ad ipsorum decretorum interpretationem accedamus,
 inter quae epistolia quaedam iisdem de rebus sigillatim non de nihilo
 inserui.

1 RYNUCIUS H | 11 seu V | 14-15 cf. Leon. Aret., Plat. Epist., Prooem.
 "quorum possessio usque adeo imbecilla est et incerta ut nemo exploratum habere
 queat ad vespertas usque esse duraturam" | 19 advertit] advenit V | 23-25 cf.
 Leon. Aret., ibid. "Sapientiae vero ac virtutis stabilis est firmaque possessio,
 neque enim eripi ab homine nulla vi possunt neque fortunae subiacent ictibus" |
 28 appellantur V | 30 κτήρια om. V | 33 eorum om. H | 35 i. e. DMx. | 40-44
 cf. Cic. Paradoxa I. 8 | 46-48 cf. Plin. Epist. I. 3, 4 | 51 diff. . . tempore: cf.
 Cic. Phil. V. 13, 36; cf. Rin., Dem. Or. ad Phil. Epist., Prooem. 49 | 61 om-
 nes V.

DECRETUM DEMOSTHENIS. *Mnesiphilo praeside, Aprilis
 prima intrantis, tribu Pandionide praerogativam sortita, Demosthenes
 Demosthenis Paeanicus dixit. Cum Philippus Macedonum rex le-
 gatos super pace componenda miserit...* (Documentum vicensimum)

Declarati sunt oratores, Demosthenes Demosthenis Paeaneus, Hyperides Cleandri Sphettius, Mnesitides Antiphani Phrearius, Demotus Sophili Phlieus, Calleschrus Diotimi Cothocydes.

Sed haec pauca pro nostrorum notitia hominum in praesentia satis. Alia perplura quae hinc inde dispersa comperio, si vita dabitur et otium illa colligere posse, in unum item conscribam. Quod sequitur est epigramma quod civitas Atheniensis inscribi iussit in honorem et gloriam eorum qui ob rem publicam mortem pugnando obierunt. Hoc epigramma perinde quasi mercibus additamentum his itidem superaddidi.

5 EPIGRAMMA. *Qui ob rem publicam pugnando in acie ceciderunt compararuntque graecis bravium perpetuum mortem pro patria obeundo ne durum servitutis iugum contumeliaeque cervicibus subirent, quod plurima illorum corpora terra patria gremio receperit, id factum*
 5 *est nutu iudicioque Iovis. In nullo quidem falli et omnia perficere deorum est, at in vita nemini datur effugere fatum.*

DEMOSTHENES, ORATIO ad PHILIPPI EPISTOLAM

Graece apud Dindorf-Blass, Oratio XI.

Solum *V codicem habemus, 115^r–118^r.

DEMOSTHENIS ORATIO E GRAECO LATINA PER RY-
 NUCIUM FACTA AD REVERENDISSIMUM PATREM DO-
 MINUM .F. EPISCOPUM PORTUENSEM CARDINALEM
 VENETIARUM AC SANCTAE ROMANAE ECCLESIAE VICE-
 5 CANCELLARIUM. PROHEMIUM. Sapientis cuiusdam sen-
 tentia est illum et appellari et haberi posse felicem, qui si quid
 ingenio aut ratione valet in ea tempora incidit quibus qui rei publicae
 praesunt aut sapientiae student aut studiosorum sapientiae sunt ama-
 tores. Quam sententiam si quis acie non obtusa inspexerit reperiet
 10 satis pro dignitate laudari non posse, nam sapientia, cum sit vitiorum
 emendatrix ac virtutum commendatrix omnium, necesse est ut
 doctrina bene beateque vivendi ab ea ducatur, qua qui praeditus est
 intelligit duos ad gubernacula rei publicae esse oportere: qui scilicet
 bene imperet et qui modeste pareat. Verum enim vero ille
 15 recte imperare dicitur qui non animi affectus sed aut praecepta
 doctissimorum hominum aut exempla clarissimorum virorum in gu-
 bernando rem publicam sequitur, nihilque lege ulla in quempiam
 sancit quin ipse prius in se documenta non ferat, ut apud Athenien-
 ses Solon ac Lacedaemonios Lycurgus, viri legiferi ac iustitia in-
 20 signes, egerunt. At qui non sua vi sed animi perturbatione imperat
 is cum sibi ipsi dominari nequeat seu nesciat, eo minus aliis recte:

dominabitur, nam qui cadit cadentem erigere nequit, et qui se ipsum non continet ut alii se contineant recte iubere non potest. Sic alios regere non valet qui ratione et lege non regitur. Quam ob
 25 rem cum ab huiusmodi principibus res publicae gubernantur, nihil mirum si omnes bonae artes corrumpuntur, nam principis morum permulti reperiuntur imitatores, quare nihil est rei publicae perniciosius. Nam ut exstat apud Platonem plus exemplo quam principum peccatis populi corrumpuntur, cum enim aspiciunt nullum
 30 praemium virtutibus esse propositum, bene merentes humi iacere deiectos, nec vitae integritatem ac morum honestatem in pretio esse, litteratos quoque ac bonarum artium studiosos postponi indoctis et aperte malis hominibus, nec postponi solum sed per contemptum reici, nec reici modo sed affici contumeliis, ad ea studia se convertunt quae principi grata fore percipiunt, quod mirum videri debet
 35 nemini. Nam quemque delectant homines illi ac sermones qui conveniunt audientium moribus, sed diversi aures non aequas longe perturbant, quod rerum publicarum non mutandarum modo sed etiam evertendarum potissima causa est. Quas ob res ille iure ac
 40 merito laudandus esse videtur qui ait humanam felicitatem felicioribus in saeculis potissimum consistere. Quod licet exemplis plurimis et summorum auctoritatibus virorum pateat aperte, tamen ex Demosthenis summi apud graecos oratoris orationibus, et maxime quas contra Philippum Macedonum regem in senatu Atheniensi habuit, palam intelligi posset. Cuius Demosthenis vitam in commen-
 45 tarii formam ac eius pro Olynthiis orationes tres e graeco in latinum traduxi illasque reverendissimo patri .N. Cardinali Capuano perscripsi, quo tempore urbis Romae regimini praefuit. Nuperrime aliam traduxi quam difficillimo rei publicae tempore eodem in senatu
 50 habuit, quam quia cognitione dignam putavi et ad rei publicae regimen utilissimam tuo in nomine perscripsi, qui rei publicae ecclesiasticae gubernaculis diu versatus es ac continuo versaris. Hanc si Dominatio tua pro sua egregia huius dicendi facultatis eruditione ac ingenio singulari paulo diligentius legerit, comperiet ex parte quibus
 55 studiis quibusque artibus rerum publicarum status pereat et quibus servetur augeaturque. Nunc ad interpretationem ipsius orationis accedamus, quam ut lucidius teneas, super ea edidi argumentum quod breviter huiusmodi est.

32-34 cf. Penia Fab., Rin. Epist. 3-5 | 49 diff. . . . tempore: cf. Cic. Phil. V. 13, 36; cf. Rin., Decreta Athen., Prooem. 51.

ARGUMENTUM. *Rex Macedonum Philippus Atheniensium senatui ac plebi scripsit epistolam qua eos de iniuriis sibi illatis criminatur ac simul bellum indicit. E contra Demosthenes orator Athenienses ad bellum hortatur tamquam id sit factu necessarium.*

- 5 *Praeterea suadet ut magno animo belli pericula aggredi audeant, disserens Philippum faciliter opprimi posse.*

ORATIO. *Quod quidem, viri Athenienses, nobiscum pacem Philippus . . . quam reliqui graeci esse promptiores paratioresque.*

Epistolam Philippi de qua supra in oratione mentio fit, quia per L. Aretinum accepi esse translatam consulto sivi illam apud suos valere. Censui enim satis esse quod nostris saeculis semel venerit in Latium.

DIOGENES HIPPOCRATES EURIPIDES, EPISTOLAE XXII

Graece apud Hercher, *Epistolog. Gr.*, scilicet: Diogenis Epistolae, pp. 235-258, *Ep.* 4-7, 9-14, 16, 18-20, 22, 25-27; Hippocratis Epist., p. 308, *Ep.* 22; Euripidis Epistolae, pp. 275-276, *Ep.* 1, 3, 2.

Codices: *V 93^v-97^v; *B 123^v-127^v, mutilus (vide supra).

(PROOEMIUM: e codd. V B edidi.) POGIO SUO IOCUNDISSIMO RYNUCIUS SALUTEM DICIT. Inter hos turbulentos rerum curialium motus ac temerariam papae Eugenii ab urbe fugam, cum omnia hinc inde confusa viderem et quo me
5 verterem nescirem, demum intra parietes domesticos me continere decrevi, ubi dum rerum mearum fasciculos ad recessum si foret opus colligerem ipsosque codices componerem, in quasdam Diogenis canis epistolas incidi, quas uno ut aiunt spectu perlegi, nec contentus eas graece legisse, quin effeci ut legi quoque possent sermone
10 latino. Eas in praesentia ad te transmittito, quem in regendis moribus censorem feci semper severissimum, ut huius canis morsibus et mordere et recensere audentius possis tam insanam ac detestabilem rerum humanarum cupiditatem quae nostris temporibus viget, immo in diem magis augescit, non dico in saecularibus sed in
15 clericis, et maxime, quod a nostra religione est alienissimum, in ipso summo pontifice, qui cum deberet pontem efficere et in contemnendis rebus humanis esse aliis ad exemplum, ipse in his eo prorsus insaniit ut helleborum sit admodum frustra. Sed haec videant quos quidem decet. Nos vero canem hunc scribentem ex
20 quo canes scite scribunt aequo animo audiamus.

1-2 *rub. deest* B | 8 ut uno V | 10 *Eas* ea B | 16 cf. BRUT Prooem. 36-37 | 17-18 eo prorsus in his B | 18 *insanit* B.

DIOGENIS CANIS EPISTOLAE LATINAE PER RYNUCIUM FACTAE. *Diogenes Canis Antipatro salutem. Noli mihi succensere . . . (Epist. 18) ab aegritudine liber esse potest. Vale.*

(APPENDICULA: e cod. V edidi) *DIOGENES CANIS OMNIBUS QUI SE GENTILES APPELLANT GEMITUM DICIT*. Vereor, mi Poggi, ne huiusmodi salutatio in futurum nimium dici possit regioni nostrae, si oracula non fallunt auctore
 5 Nauarcho, sed hunc cothurnum in praesentia valere sinamus et ad rem nostram redeamus. Quae sequuntur sunt epistolae, Hippocratis una, Euripidis alterae, quas cum transtulissem, dum superiores transcriberem, eas veluti mercibus additamentum his superaddidi. Eas itaque pari quoque animo audiamus.

1-3 rub. = salutatio Epistolae 28 (Hercher, p. 241) | 7-8 transcriberent V.

HIPPOCRATES THESSALO. *Cognitionis cura sit tibi, fili, geometriae . . . utriusque facultatis studium quoad potes accedas. Vale.*

EURIPIDES ARCHELAO BENEAGERE. *Pecuniam iterum ad te . . . (Epist. 3) optimum, Cratini praeterea filios. Vale.*

HIPPOCRATES, EPISTOLA AD DAMAGETUM

Graece apud Hercher, *Epistolog. Gr.*, Hippoc. *Epistola* 17, pp. 298-305.

Codices: Optimus est **Paris*. 8729 47^r-55^v = P. Deteriores sunt *Ariminensis in bibl. Gambalunga D. IV.* 208 13^r-18^r; *Monacen.* 569 163^r-173^v, scriptus ab Hartmanno Schedelio anno 1498 (deest Prooem.); *Vindobon.* 3116 17^r-18^v, scriptus anno 1498 (deest Prooem.).

Unus est liber impressus, H 8676 (C 1.), qui inscribitur "De insania Democriti | philosophi Facetū epi- | stoliū hipocratis medici |" Deest Prooem.

(PROOEMIUM: e cod. P edidi.) HIPPOCRATIS COI EPISTOLA AD DAMAGETUM LATINA PER RINUCCIUM FACTA AD EGREGIUM UTRIUSQUE IURIS INTERPRETEM .A. SANCTICRUCIUM ET PRIMO PROHEMIUM. Cynus avis,
 5 qui et olor nominatur, cum mortem sibi adesse praesentit, tunc uti litteris proditum est solito suavius canere dicitur, cuius rei causa esse traditur a nonnullis quod cum sit avis Apollini dicata ideo canendo moriatur quia in morte quippiam boni fore praesentiat. At si quis ab oculis eripiat caliginem quae mortalium aciem hebetat,
 10 procul dubio reperiet cynum ideo cum moritur canere ut mortem canendo efficiat leviolem, quod sapientis proprium esse constat officium, qui cum fortuna semper fortibus noverca illi adversatur statim cantu, hoc est animi aequitate, adversa ferendo ad ea studia se confert quibus se solari et aliis prodesse possit, quod per summos viros

- 15 factitatum fuisse litteris mandatum reperitur, qui cum in adversis
 dirius urgerentur illis studiis se tradiderunt quibus et sibi et suis
 profuerunt quam plurimum. Horum vestigiis innixus, cum id pu-
 sillum mihi fuit ereptum quo vitam vix tenuem ducebam, meque
 20 deiectum apud infimos viderem, ne omnino totus interirem, statui
 mortuos ab inferis scribendo excitare et quoad possem ad regionem
 viventium illos transmittere, ut per me et viventibus prosint et
 testimonium exhibeant me non iure sic apud infimos esse religatum.
 Quam ob rem his brumalibus noctibus locupletissimos testes excitavi
 eosque in Latium transmi, scilicet Lucianum Platonem atque Py-
 25 thagoram. Nuperrime vero Hippocratem virum inter medentes
 clarissimum ab imis sepulcralibus excitatum ac latino sermone ita
 praeditum ut a quo putas intelligi possit ad te transmitti una tamen
 cum epistola quam conscripsit super his quae a Democrito philo-
 sopho habuit cum ad eum curandum ceu eo tempore insaniret ab
 30 illius civibus fuit accitus, quam tanti facio ut nullis de moribus philo-
 sophorum libris posthabeam. Hanc epistolam si ea diligentia legeris
 qua et templa et statuetae et alia ornamenta maiorum iam diu sepulta
 ut ad lucem reveniant uteris, non ut hospitem sed inter delicias non
 secus ac filiolum caram habebis. Et ut ipsam lucidius teneas super
 35 ea edidi argumentum quod cum legeris ad interpretationem epistolae
 facilius descendes atque cognosces Satyrum nostrum non de nihilo
 dixisse: perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat Democritus et re-
 liqua.

20 et 23 cf. Cic. Brut. 93, 322 | 24 latinum P | 36 satirum P | 37: Iuv. x. 33.

- (ARGUMENTUM) *Democritus Abderites inter philosophos sui
 temporis clarissimus, familiae ac suorum taedio civium, omissa vita
 ut sic dicam negotiosa, eremum profectus, qui locus non longe ab
 urbe Abdira distabat, se totum otio tradidit atque super quibusvis
 5 hominum actibus ridere constituit. Quam rem cum cives sui ani-
 madverterent, putantes illum mente esse alienum, legatione et epistolis
 Hippocratem Coum in arte medendi eximium ad curam Democriti
 ceu insanientis accerserunt. Quam curam assumens Hippocrates
 Abdiram navigat, ubi quae acta et quae inter se et Democritum dicta
 10 sunt Damageto cui rerum suarum curam domo abiens commiserat
 praesenti epistola significat, sic scribens.*

INCIPIT EPISTOLA. *Hippocrates Cous Damageto salutem.
 Quod suspicati sumus illud nimirum . . . quae de Democrito scribere
 possum idque profecto libens. Vale.*

HIPPOCRATES, EPISTOLAE XV

Graece apud Hercher, *Epistolog. Gr.*, Hippoc. Epistolae, pp. 289–309, *Ep.* 1–5, 11–18, 20, 22.

Codices¹ in duas disposui familias, quarum melior (= *a*) ab eo codice originem duxisse videtur qui ad Antonium Card. missus est, nam omnes huius familiae codices, exceptis B et β, Rinucii Epistolam continent. Optimi sunt (1) *V 131^r–137^r (Hippoc. Epist.), 137^r–138^r (Prooem., Rin. Epist.), et (2) *B 114^r–123^r (desunt et rubricae et Rin. Epist.). Ab his codicibus solis ommissa est Hippocratis Epistola illa ad Damagetum (Hercher, *Epistola*, 17) una cum Argumento. Boni sunt (3) *β, qui non modo Rinucii Epistola sed etiam Prooemio caret, atque Hippocratis Epistolas hoc ordine exhibet, ff. 189^r–204^r, Epist. 17 cum Arg., 1–5, 11–15 (Hercher); ff. 209^v–213^r, Epist. 16, 18, 20, 22 (Hercher); et (4) *Harleian.* 3527 in *Mus. Brit.* 1^r–15^v. Tres codices a bono libro impresso, H 6194 (cf. Prooem. l. 9, *fabre*] *facile*) descripti sunt (vide infra, num. 2), scilicet: (5) *Florent. Magl. viii.* 1294 38^r–64^v; (6) *Paris.* 6863 1^r–20^v; (7) *Laurent.* 90. *Sup* 36 16^v–32^v, quem in codicem restituta est eadem ac codicis V rubrica.

Altera familia (= *b*) a deteriore codice (= *x*) originem traxit. Codex *x* Rinucii Epistola carebat et ad Prooemium fere huiusmodi habebat rubricam: PRAEFATIO IN QUASDAM EPISTOLAS HIPPOCRATIS MEDICINAE ARTIS PERITISSIMI E GRAECO IN LATINUM CONVERSAS PER (lacuna) AD NICOLAUM QUINTUM SUMMUM PONTIFICEM, nec non in Prooemii textu haec exhibebat menda: l. 13 *legerem*, l. 14 *posse dari* (*dare*), l. 18 *ut prius*] *om.*, l. 18 *conferant*. Huius familiae codices quattuor easdem ac *x* vel eius simillimas habent rubricas, scilicet: (8) *Laurent. Stroz.* 65 54^r–78^r, unde descriptus est (9) *Florent. Riccard.* 1221, 106^v–117^r; (10) *Laurent.*² 54–17 51^r–78^v; (11) *Bonon.* 329 in *bibl. Univ.* 1^r–15^v. Duo codices in rubricae lacunam verba “RENUCCIUM ARETINUM” inserunt et ad Nicolaum *Papam V.* Prooemium mittunt: (12) **Vat.* 1781 103^r–126^v, et (13) **Laurent. Ashburn.* 1721 81^r–95^r, unde descriptae sunt illae rubricae quae in cod. **Florent. Magl. viii.* 53 sine textu reperun-

¹ Non vidi **Escorial. a. IV.* 12. Cf. supra p. 79.

² Ab hoc codice edidit Bandinius (*Cat. Cod. Laurent.*) Prooemii partem, usque ad verbum “corrigeremque,” l. 9.

tur.¹ Duobus in codicibus Prooem. ad Nic. *quartum* mittitur: (14) **Vat. Urb.* 1313 41^r–58^r, et (15) *Paris.* 8606 162^r–186^r. Duo codices rubricas habent huiusmodi: RENUTII ARETINI PRAEFATIO ... AD NICOLAUM QUINTUM etc., scilicet: (16) **Vat.* 4490 1^r–27^r, et (17) *Roman. Casanat.* 1706 1^r–24^v, scriptus 1503. Restant (18) *Paris.* 18590 65^r–73^v, qui brevissimas habet rubricas, (19) *Senensis F. II.* 18 115^r col. 1–122^v col. 2, qui nihil praeter Arg. et Epist. 17, 18, 20, 22 (Hercher) continet, (20) *Vindobon.* 3192 18^r, qui nihil praeter Epist. 22 continet.

Libri impressi: (1) H 6193 (C II. Add.), quem supra in Bruti Epistolis tractandis descripsi. Continet ff. 36^v–54^r Hippocratis Epistolas, una cum Rinucii Epistola et Prooemio, de nescioquo codice familiae *a* sumptas. Tamen ad Prooemium hanc familiae *b* propriorem rubricam exhibet: “Praefatio in epistolas Hippocratis medici praestantissimi e graeco in latinum per Renutium traductas ad Nicolaum V pont. max.” (2) H 6194 (C I.), 37^r–54^r (vide Bruti editiones). Hinc descripti sunt tres familiae *a* codices (vide supra).² (3) H 6195 (R v.) (vide Bruti editiones). (4) Liber eiusdem generis anno 1505 impressus (vide Bruti editiones). (5) H 10500 (C I. R III.). Hippocratis Epistolas ff. xxxv^r–lxvi^v de libro H 6194 sumptas continet. Deest Rinucii Epistola (vide Bruti editiones). (6) Epist. Lacon. Farragines, ed. Cognatus, Basileae 1554 (vide Bruti editiones). Hic liber pp. 63–119 Rinucii Prooemium et xxi Hippocratis Epistolas continet. Cognatus enim ad xv Epistolas Rinucianas, quas de libro H 6194 sumpserat, sex novas addidit (Hercher, *Op. cit.*, 6–10, 24), quas post quintam Rinucianam (Hercher, 5) inseruit.

(RINUCII EPISTOLA: e cod. V edidi.) REVERENDISSIMO DOMINO SUO DOMINO .A. TITULI SANCTI CHRYSOGONI PRESBITERO CARDINALI ILERDENSI RYNUCIUS SE COMMENDAT. Hippocratis Coi cuius maximum exstat in 5 arte medendi nomen quasdam epistolas non contemnendas e graeco transtuli in latinum pridie quam curia pro peste vitanda ab urbe recederet, ac sanctissimo domino nostro Nicolao papae quinto inscripsi. Earum epistolarum copiam Dominationi tuae pro debito

¹ Vide, p. 59, adn. 2.

² Vide quae Reichling, Vol. VI, de libro H 12897 scripsit. Bononiae enim exstat volumen qui “continua signaturarum serie” et Phalaridis (H 12897) et Hippocratis Epistolas (i.e. tertiam partem libri H 6194) continet.

- meae erga te devotionis transmittō, nec minus pro egregia et singulari eruditione tua in omni genere studiorum. Quod opusculum si quis diligentius legerit, comperiet profecto ipsum Hippocratem non modo in curandis corporibus magnum fuisse sed in dicendo non longe inferiorem et supra ceteros extitisse iocundum. Quare hilari fronte hoc ipsum opusculum suscipere velis nec despicias quod sit volumine parvum: quippe pusilla reperiuntur aliquando multo pretiosiora quam magna et ampla corpora. Quod in lapidibus pretiosius videri licet, nec minus apud Statium in suo maiori poemate quod inscribitur Thebais ubi Homerum imitatus de Tydeo ait: Maior in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus. Vale.

15-19 cf. Rin., Plat. Euthyph., Prooem., 32-37 atque Leon. Aret., Prooem. in Aristot. Oecon. | 15-16 preciosora V | 18-19 Stat. Theb. I. 417.

- (PROOEMIUM: e codd. B V edidi.) SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO NICOLAO PAPAE QUINTO RYNUCIUS HUMILITER SE COMMENDAT. Philippus Mediolanensis, vir inter medentes nostri temporis praestantissimus, beatissime pater, cum ipsum iure veteris inter nos amicitiae visitarem, et multa ut mos est de studiis humanitatis ultro citroque verba fierent, demum me rogavit ut quandam Hippocratis viri in arte medendi apud graecos clarissimi ad Democritum philosophum sui temporis non obscurum epistolam emendarem corrigeremque quoniam nonnulla existerent quae inter se constare non fabre videbantur. Ego vero ut illi obsequer, quem perinde ac patrem semper colui et observavi, hunc laborem libens assumpsi. Sed cum epistolam illam graece latineque legerim, cognovi non emendatione opus esse sed explanatione, qua nullam censui dari posse meliorem quam ceteras epistolas super eadem materia ab eodem conscriptas efficere latinas. Itaque his brumalibus noctibus proxime superioribus illas e graeco transtuli in latinum, quae antequam ad alios se conferant, censui decens fore simul et congruum ut prius Sanctitati tuae se offerant eidemque procidant ceu litterarum parenti ac uti bonarum artium asilum adorent. Quare si Sanctitas tua parem audientiam illis praestabit quam ceteris quotidie praestat, † licet enim hospites peregrinaeque sint et a Coe insula loco humili profectae, latinis tamen verbis nonnulla afferunt quae doctorum hominum aurius digna fore iudicabis, et ut plenius intelligantur suo loco inserui epistolam disputationem Hippocratis ac Democriti continentem, quam superiori tempore transtuleram, et simul argumentum quod pro apertiori intelligentia super ea confeceram. Sed iam humiliter supplicant ut eadem Sanctitas tua aequis auribus eas romano sermone loquentes audire dignetur.

1-3 rub. deest B | 10 fabre] sultre V | 17 se ad alios V | 19 adarent B | 21 deest aliquid, forsitan nimirum caras habebit, cf. BRUT Prooem. 46-49, PYTH Prooem. 16-21, et passim | 22 Coe V.

HIPPOCRATIS EPISTOLAE. *Rex Regum Magnus Artaxerxes Pacto salutem. Morbus qui nomine appellatur . . .* (Epist. 15) *huiusmodi facultatis cognitionem accedere velis. Vale.*

LUCIANUS, CHARON

Codices:¹ [Non vidi *Vaticanos* 989 et 2905, *Cantiliacen.* 987, *Foxen.* 67, *Hagan.* 131. *G. g.*] Eorum quos vidi meliores sunt sex: (1) **β* 244^v–255^v (deest Rinucii Epist.), (2) **Paris.* 8729 75^r–82^v = **P** (desunt et Rinucii Epistola et rubricae fere omnes), (3) **Laurent.*² 89 *Sup* 16 21^r–26^r = **L** (deest Rinucii Epistola), (4) **Monacen.* 12728 217^r–224^v = **M**, scriptus annis 1458–1461 (desunt pleraeque rubricae), (5) *Florent. II. IX. 110 in bibl. Nat.* 52^r–62^r (desunt pleraeque rubricae), (6) **Foro-iulien.*³ *in urbe S. Danielis* 120 6^r–17^r.

Deteriores sunt xiv: Ab uno codice, qui Rinucii Epistolam continebat, descripti sunt (7) **Arundel.* 277 *in Mus. Brit.* 97^r–107^r (desunt rubricae) et (8) **Stutgard. poet. et philol.* 4^o. 37 12^r–20^r. Hic codex iterum f. 44^v Rinucii Epistolam continet (= **S**), quae loco prooemii ante alium dialogum posita est qui incipit “LUCIANI DIALOGUS PER RINUCIUM DENUO TRANSLATUS CUIUS INTERLOCUTIONES (sic) SUNT PALINURUS ET CHARON. PALINURUS: Obsecro te, O Charon, sine me iam ut navim conscendam . . .” Hic dialogus qui “Luciani Palinurus” saepe inscribitur et Rinucio interpreti nonnumquam attribuitur⁴ nihil est aliud quam Maphaei Vegii Dial. de Felicitate et Miseria, cf. Voigt-Lehnerdt II. 42.

Ab uno codice, qui Rinucii Epistola carebat et ad Prooemium hanc rubricam habebat RAINUTII CASTILIOARETINI VIRI ELOQUENTISSIMI DIALOGUS CARONTIS ET MERCURII EX LUTIANO GRAECO PHYŌ IN LATINUM CONVERSUS, descripti sunt (9) **Marcian. vi.* 255 98^r–114^v, scriptus per “P. G. Sv.” 1477, 14 Kal. Nov., et (10) **Berolin.* 8^o. 171 49^r–58^v, cui deest folium unum inter 49 et 50, quo loco erant Argumenti finis et Dialogi initium.

Restant decem, qui omnes, excepto *Paris.* 18529 (vide infra), Rinucii Epistola carent: (11) **Monacen.* 364, 226^r–232^v, scriptus 1463 “In

¹ Animadvertendum est perpaucos huius operis codices esse in Italia scriptos.

² Hinc edidit Bandinius Prooemii partem (*Cat.* III, 266 sq.).

³ In *Cat.* Mazzatintii num. 121 designatur.

⁴ Cf. Ravaglium, p. 46.

nuremberga quarto kl' Septembris" ab Hartmanno Schedelio. Hinc descripti sunt duo codices: (12) **Monacen.* 23861 229^r col. 2-302^v, et (13) **Lipsien.* 1260 in *bibl. Univ.* 265^r col. 1-268^v col. 2. (14) *Paris.* 14117 109^r-115^r. (15) *ibid.* 18529 178^r-185^r (sequitur non modo "Luciani Palinurus"¹ verum etiam f. 201^r Rinucii Epistola ad Laur. de Columna a manu posteriore addita). (16) *ibid.* 8800, unde descriptus est (17) *Vat. Regin.* 1409 2^r-16^r. Ab uno codice descripti sunt (18) *Paris.* "Arsenal" 397 150^v-164, et (19) *Trevirensis* 48 286^v-291^v. Restat (20) *Vindobon.* 3094 132^r-143^v, scriptus anno 1493, in quem inseruit scribe longum locum a se ipso compositum (inc. 141^v "Sed aie nunc quaeso..."; expl. 142^v "...curialium impiorum usus").

Libri impressi: (1) Liber qui Charontem a Rinucio translatum primo loco (3^r-13^v) inter sex Luciani dialogos continet, H 10269. A bono codice originem duxit. Rinucii Epistola ad Laur. de Columna f. 57^v ante Luciani dialogum "Tyrannum" a Christophoro Persona conversum reperitur, sed inter rubricas quae omnes uno folio (2^v) ad illuminatoris usum collocatae sunt, scribitur: "Epistola que posita | est retro post tractatum de prestantia debet signari quod sit | prefatio quedam ante tractatum sequentem scilicet. Obsecro," i. e. ante "Palinurum" dialogum, qui tertio loco (30^r-52^r) invenitur (vide supra, codices 8 et 15). (2) (a) Liber [ca. 1485] impressus, C 3656 = H 10271 (C1.). Deest Rinucii Epistola. Ad Prooemium hanc exhibet rubricam "Luciani dialogus qui inscribitur maior Cha|ron latinus per phiniciu denuo factus etc." A bono codice originem traxit, sed nimis audacter emendatus est, e.g. Prooem. l. 19 caloribus] erroribus permotus eum. (b) *Idem liber iterum impressus*, C 3655. (c) *Idem liber iterum* [*Daventriae ca. 1497*] impressus, C 3657. (3) Libros duos edidit Paulus Niavis: (a) H 10270 (C1.) [ca. 1492] impressum, (b) librum huic simillimum, quem miror virum cl. Reichling praetermisisse, adservatur enim in bibliotheca Vaticana ("Inc. IV. 151"). In hoc libro Prooemii rubrica incipit "Dyalogus luciani qui inscribitur Caron de greco in la|tinum per raymuncium virum insignem de novo translatus | ad etc." Amborum librorum textum vel de Monacense 364 vel de codice simillimo sumpsit Paulus Niavis. Deest Rinucii Epistola. (4) Liber "Basilae apud Andream Cratandrum et Servatium Cruftanum, mense viiibri,

¹ Vide supra, cod. 8.

anno MDXVIII" impressus, qui post duos Maphaei Vegii dialogos Luciani quoque Charontem "Rhinuccino Florentino (sic) interprete" pp. 65-78 continet. A Trevirense 48 vel codice simillimo impressus est. Deest Rinucii Epistola.

(RINUCII EPISTOLA: e codd. M S edidi.) MAGNIFICO DOMINO .L. DE COLUMNA RINUCIUS FELICITATEM. Caloribus proxime superioribus, cum curia valetudine pessima laboraret et curialium aegrotantium strages in urbe maxima esset, ut
 5 ab huiusmodi molestiis animum diverterem, me totum omnibus posthabitis ad litteras converti atque traduxi in Latium ut sic dicam e Graecia Luciani dialogum qui inscribitur Caron de vanis irridendisque circa res humanas mortalium conatibus. Quem reverendissimo patri domino Iohanni cardinali Morinensi ascripsi. Hunc
 10 dialogum in praesentia ad te transmittito, ut de meis venationibus quibus animus alitur et quibus tu a parvulo es educatus, ex quo de tuis quae ad corpus pertinent gustare nequeo, et gustes et fruaris. Qua fruitione si te delectari accepero, veluti a teneris annis delectari solebas, aliis venatiunculis non minus suavis in diem te visitabo.
 15 Vale Rinucii tui memor et te aequo animo ad meliora tempora conserva.

3 superioribus *om.* M | 6 latinum M | 12 pertinent *om.* M | 14 venationibus M.

(PROOEMIUM: e codd. β P L M edidi.) LUCIANI DIALOGUS QUI INSCRIBITUR CARON LATINUS PER RINUTIUM DENUO FACTUS AD REVERENDISSIMUM PATREM DOMINUM IOHANNEM CARDINALEM MORINENSEM.
 5 Seraphius Urbinas vir utriusque iuris interpretis nostri temporis primarius, reverendissime pater, gentilium libros de optimarum artium studiis cum datur otium frequentius legere solet. Is nuper cum Luciani philosophi apud graecos suo tempore clarissimi quendam legeret dialogum qui inscribitur Caron latinum nescio quo inter-
 10 prete iam diu factum me pro mutua inter nos consuetudine rogavit ut illum sui gratia emendarem corrigeremque, quoniam exstarent quam multa eo mendosa quod ad sententias explicandas ut plurimum esset opus Sibylla interprete. Ego vero illi viro in primis doctissimo mihiq̃ue amicissimo morem gerere cupiens dialogum illum cepi prius
 15 graecum deinde pariter et latinum, quem ut vidi minime sum miratus si parum aut nihil latine intelligi poterat, quoniam non conversus sed maior ex parte confusus ac perversus erat. Graece enim cum distincte atque dilucide loquatur apud nos distorte et conturbate per omnia fere procedit. Itaque his immensis caloribus denuo e
 20 Graecia in Latium traduxi verbis latinis ita instructum ut cum iocunditate legi et sine difficultate possit intelligi. Cui vero hunc ipsum ascri-

berem non de nihilo tua Dominatio mihi occurrit, quam non me fugit litteratorum virorum esse amantissimam, et qui ad bonos mores et ad humanae vitae instituta spectant eos sermones summa cum
 25 aviditate et legere et audire solere. Hunc igitur dialogum quem tuo dedicavi obsequio ut qua me soles ea cum benignitate suscipias rogo, quem quidem cum legeris nimirum et procul dubio laetaberis. Sed opus est attentione quoniam Mercurius iam loquitur cum Carone.

1-4 *rub. deest* P M | 2 RIMICIUM β | 16 latine *om.* β M | 19 immensibus L | 20 Latium] latinum β P L M.

(ARGUMENTUM: e codd. β P L M edidi.) DIALOGI ARGUMENTUM. *Demon ille nomine Caron qui ut poetae aiunt mortuorum animas per Acheronta flumen transfert ad inferos, cupiens res hominum actusque cognoscere, exorata a Plutone unius diei venia,*
 5 *viventium regionem ascendit, atque in primis cum vidisset quendam ab amico vocatum ad cenam seque iturum illi pollicitum repentino imbricis ictu humi mortuum cecidisse, vehementer arrisit. Ei ridenti Mercurius Iovis iussu ex negotio missus obviat suique risus causam rogat sic inquit.*

1-2 *rub. deest.* M | DIALOGI *om.* P | 2 ut *om.* P | 4 cognoscere] videri L | 6 illi *om.* M | 7 imbris L | 9 interrogat β.

INCIPIT DIALOGUS CUIUS INTERLOCUTORES PRIMI SUNT MERCURIUS ET CARON. *MERCURIUS. Quid rides, O Caron, et quid apud superos relictæ cymba . . . verbum de Carone faciunt nullum.*

LUCIANUS, NECRICUS DIALOGUS CHARONTIS MERCURIQUE (DIAL. MORT. X.)

Codices: [Non vidi: *Vat.* 4037, *Vat. Ottobon.* 1267, *Pistorien.* 1.] Quos vidi in duas disposui familias, quarum melior (= a) ex xii constat codicibus, qui ad Rinucium opus recte referentes Bonacursium proferunt cui mittatur, textum autem Prooemii pristinum et quasi puerilem retinere videntur. Optimus est (1) **Vat.* 4155 35-36^v = v. "Theodorus Buckinch Monasteriensis Raptim scripsit." Boni sunt (2) **Paris.* 8729 57^r-60^v = P, et (3) *Florent. Riccard.* 1200 17^r-18^r = R. Inferiores sunt ceteri huius familiae, scilicet: (4) **Marcian.* 1919 46^r-48^r = m, scriptus fortasse anno 1425; (5) *Vindobon.* 3449 91^r-93^v = W, a codice m descriptus; (6) *Panorm.* 2 Qq. C. 79 = π; (7) **Cusan.* 177 53^r-54^v = C. Sunt autem duo codices qui et multis locis

consentiunt et fere eisdem verbis incipiunt, scilicet: "RINUTII (vel RIMICII) PROHEMIUM IN DYALOGUM LUCIANI TRADUCTUM, QUI NEGLERICUS (sic) DIALOGUS CHARONIS MERCURIIQUE INSCRIBITUR, i. e. (8) **Stutgard. poet. et philol.* 4^o. 37 8^r-10^v, et (9) **Arundel.* 277 in *Mus. Brit.* 83^r-86^r. Restant tres codices familiae *a*: (10) *Laurent.* 90 Sup 65 143^r-145^r (Incipit Prooem.¹ INCIPIT DYALOGUS CARONTIS ET MERCURII SCRIPTUS A LUCIANO ET TRANSDUCTUS A RAYNUTIO FLORENTINO; expl. Dial. FINIT DYALOGUS LEPIDISSIMUS LUCIANI ORATORIS GRECI PER RAYNUTIUM IN LATINUM CONVERSUM); (11) *Paris.* "Nouv. Acq. lat." 315 57^v-60^v (Incipit Prooem. PRO-OEMIUM; incipit Dial. LUCIANI OPUSCULUM PER PREFATUM RANUTIUM DIALOGUS CARONTIS ET MERCURII); (12) *Ariminen. Gambal. C. S.* 31 135^r-136^v, a manu saec. XVI. scriptus in duobus foliis vacuis pulcherrimi codicis saec. XV. Deest Prooem.

Familia *b* ex xvi constat codicibus qui ad Aurispam opus referentes de Bonacursio Candico tacent. Huius familiae meliores sunt duo: (13) **Monacen.* 23861 297^r col. 1-298^r col. 1 = μ , qui ab eodem codice ac π descriptus esse videtur et rubricas habet huiusmodi: ante Dialogum DIALOGUS CARON NAUTA INFERORUM LOQUITUR et post Dialogum EXPLICIT DIALOGUS LUKIANI PER AURISPAM DE GRECO IN LATINUM TRANSLATUS; (14) **Vat.* 2876 119^r-121^r (desunt rubricae).

Deteriores sunt ceteri huius familiae, quippe qui in Prooemio haec habeant menda: l. 8 iocundum, l. 8 occurrisset, l. 9 in] *om.*, l. 11 apud te, l. 13 confiteberis (vel simile), l. 17 effulsit (vel simile). Rubricas codici μ similiores habent septem codices, scilicet: (15) **Mona-cen.* 364 223^r-225^v, scriptus ab H. Schedelio, Nürimbergae Aug. 29, 1463; (16) **Lipsien.* 1260 in *bibl. Univ.* 262^v col. 1-263^v col. 2; (17) **Harleian.* 4923 in *Mus. Brit.* 478^r-479^v; (18) *Vindobon.* 4323 42^r-44^v, quo codice manus posterior "Aurispam" e Prooemii rubrica delevit et "Rinucium" suprascriptit; (19) *Roman. Corsin.* 43 *E.* 4 1^r-5^v, scriptus anno 1469; (20) **Foroiulien.*² in urbe *S. Danielis* 120 2^v-6^r, cuius initio addidit a latere manus prima "Alia opinio quod qui-

¹ Hinc edidit Bandinius Prooem. (*Cat.* III, 653).

² In *Cat.* Mazzatintii, num. 121 designatur.

dam Rinutius traduxerit ad bonacursium candidum (sic)" et inter Prooemium Dialogumque "Necritus dialogus caronis mercurii que;" (21) *Marcian. xiv. 220* 42^v-45^r (deest Prooemium);¹ (22) *ibid. xiv. 128* 105^v-107^r (desunt Prooem. et rubricae); (23) *Cracovien. 2265 in bibl. Univ.* 450^r-453^r (deest Prooem.).

Sunt autem sex codices familiae *b* qui rubricas habent huiusmodi, DIALOGUS LUCIANI EX GRAECO LATINUS FACTUS AB AURISPA SICULO VIRO AETATIS NOSTRAE SUAVISSIMO ATQUE DOCTISSIMO, scilicet: (24) *Roman. Corsin. 583* 12^v-14^r, (25) *Ambros. I. II Sup. 5* 59^r-62^v (deest Prooem.), (26) *Laurent. Stroz. 104* 116^r-118^v, (27) *ibid. 90 Sup 54* 87^v-91^r, (28) *Florent. Riccard. 1166* 49^r-50^r, (29) **Vat. 2876* 28^r-30^r (deest Prooem.).

Libri impressi: (1) Duo sunt libri qui post alia opuscula nostrum continent dialogum hac rubrica incipientem: LUTIANI PHILOSOPHI GRAECI DIALOGUS DE FUNERALI POMPA PER RINUTIUM TRADUCTUS. A bono codice originem ducunt, sed Prooemium ita emendavit editor ut aliquanto auxerit et omnino mutaverit (incipit "Saepe et multum . . ."; expl. ". . . disserentem auscultemus"). (a) H 10272 (R v.), qui inscribitur LUTIANI PHILOSOPHI LIBELLUS | de Virtute conquerente etc.; et (b) R 398 (R vi. p. 79), qui inscribitur HYSAGOGA LEONARDI ARETINI (i. e. Isagoge etc.). (2) (a) Liber xvi opuscula Luciani continens, inter quae invenitur (57^r-59) "Luciani Scaphidium," H 10261 (C i.), Venetiis 1494 impressus. Deest Prooemium. (b) Idem liber, Mediolani 1497, 12 Mart. impressus, H 10262 (C i.). (c) Idem liber Venetiis 1500 die "xxxi Iunii" impressus, H 10263 (C i. R v.). (d) Idem liber Venetiis 1517 "die xx. mensis septembris" impressus. (3) (a) R 1252, ed. Paulus Niavis, "Dyalogus Luciani pñi in quo ostenditur ne|minem nisi nudum per acheronta transvehi etc." A nescioquo codice familiae *b* originem duxit. Prooemium inscribitur "Dyalogus luciani per arispam de | greco in latinum translatus de carone infero|rorum (sic) nauta incipit feliciter." Textum mendosum audacter emendavit editor. (b) H 10273 (C i.) [*Daventriae 1497*] impressus. (c) H 10274 "*Liptzik . . . Anno salutis nostre I. 5.00*" impressus.

¹ Praecedit Luciani Charon interprete anon. (idem est ac Vat. 3171, "Quid agis, Charon? . . . afferens veniam"), rubricam vero hanc habet falsam: "Luciani opusculum per Ranutium e greco in latinum traductum."

(PROOEMIUM: e codd. v P R m W π C μ edidi.) LUCIANI
 OPUSCULUM LATINUM PER RYNUCIUM FACTUM ET
 PRIMO PROHEMIUM AD BONACURSIUM CANDICUM.
 Saepe et multum ea mecum cogitavi quae hac temporum clade de
 5 morte funeralique pompa contemnenda graviter atque sapienter so-
 litus es mecum disserere, quae tum elegantia atque copia tum dis-
 serendi subtilitate litteris mandare decreveram, nisi facundissimi
 graecorum Luciani quoddam iocabundum nobis occurrit opusculum,
 quod graece dum legerem tuarum memor disceptationum tuo in
 10 nomine latinum feci, gratum tibi futurum existimans, cum apud eun-
 dem Lucianum non minus quam te ridicula monstruosaque habita-
 sunt capita qui tanto mortis terrore afficiuntur, summa cuius aucto-
 ritate tu tuis opinionibus confirmaberis. Verum si quid tua gravitate
 dignum per nos eluxerit, gratia erit habenda Iohanni Simonaco.
 15 protopapae, viro nostrae aetatis litteratissimo, e cuius industria opere
 et diligentia derivatum est quicquid graecarum litterarum ad nos
 effluxit. Sed haec in praesentia satis. Aliquando ipsum Lucianum
 audiamus sic dicentem.

1-3 *rub. deest* μ | LUCIANI . . . PROHEMIUM *om.* π | 2 RINUCIUM m W
 RIMICIUM C RINUCTIONUM R | 3 AD . . . CANDICUM *om.* C R W 'Πυρό-
 κιος τῷ Βονακουρίῳ χαλπεῖν (*super verba graeca scripsit manus posterior* Rinucius.
 bonacursio salutem) m Rinutius bonacursio salutem π | BONACURSIUM P |
 CHANDICUM P v | 4 saepe . . . cogitavi: Cic. de Inv. I. 1 | et] ac μ | mecum
om. R | cogitanti P cogitandi μ | 4-5 de morte *om.* W | 5 ac π μ | 6 quae tum]
 quae cum C W μ | 7 nisi quod π | famosissimi facundissimique μ | 8 Iukiani P μ .
 Iuliani C Δυχίαν W | iocundum μ | occurrerit R occurrisset m² occurat W | 9 lege-
 ram W | tuorum R | q memor μ | in *om.* P π μ | 10 cum] quem μ | 11 Iukianum
 P μ Iulianum C | -que *om.* π | 12 sint π W μ | capita *om.* π | qui] *om.* μ quae C W
Cf. Ter. Adel. 261-2 "caput qui" | cuius] quovis μ | 13 confirmaberis o. tuis m
 W | confirmabere π confiteberis μ | Verum] Sed m π W | gravitate tua m gravitas.
 tua W | 14 dignum in hoc opere m W | illuxerit C eduxerit μ | Iohanni *om.* P |
 symonaco C P symonacho m Simmonaco W Simoniaco μ | 15 protopapa C P v
 prothopapa R prothopape m prothopapae W prothopapas π | e] ex W et C μ *om.*
 π | 15-16 opere et] pariter et π μ (*sic Guarinus*) atque m W *Cf. Rin., Aristot.*
de Mundo, Prooem. 49-50: "cura opere et vigilantia" | 16 ad nos] hact(h)enus.
 in me π μ | 17 effluxit P effulxit π effulxerit v efulsit m effulsit W C μ | haec in
 praesentiarum R ad πτῆς iam π | Iukianum P μ Iulianum C | 17-18 Sed . . . di-
 centem: cf. Cic. de Opt. Gen. Or. 7, 23 | 18 sic dicentem audiamus μ | *Multa*
sumpsit Rinucius de Guarini Prooemio in Luc. de Calumnia, scil. "Sed inter
legendum quoddam Luciani elegans occurrit opusculum. . . Illud . . . in lati-
num verti, ubi si quid tua gravitate dignum eluxerit, gratia erit utrique
referenda. . . e quorum industria pariter et diligentia derivatum est quicquid
graecarum litterarum ad vestrales effluxit."

NECRICUS¹ DIALOGUS CARONTIS MERCURIIQUE.
*Audite quo quidem pacto nostra se negotia habeant . . . rotas scilicet
 et lapides ac vultures, atque vitam cuiusque examinari necesse est.*

¹ Cf. Rin., Decreta Ath., Prooem. 35.

LUCIANUS, PHILOSOPHORUM ILLUSTRUM VITARUM VENDITIO

Codices: * β 255^v-265^v; **Paris.* 8729 1^r-14^r = P; **Vat.* 4155 37^v-42^r = v ("Theodericus buckinch Monasteriensis Raptim scripsit"); **Arundel.* 277 in *Mus. Brit.* 86^r-97^r = A (Rinucii Epistolam continet); **Laurent.*¹ 89 *Sup* 16 26^r-31^v; **Monacen.* 12728 224^v-230^v, imperfectus; **Stutgard. poet. et philol.* 4^o. 37 20^v-29^v (Rinucii Epistolam continet); **Foroiulien.*² in *urbe S. Danielis* 120 17^r-29^r.

(RINUCCI EPISTOLA: e cod. A edidi.) LAURENTIO COLUMNAE RINUCCII PROSPERITATEM. Diebus superioribus una cum litteris meis tuae Dominationi transmissi duas monodias quas edidi super obitu Mermeri mei quas audio tibi in tempore fuisse
5 redditas, licet abs te certi habeam nihil. Ex post feci latinum Luciani dialogum qui inscribitur philosophorum illustrium vitarum venditio, opus profecto luculentum et scitu dignum, quod tibi transmittito ut quibus versamur angustiis eas more maiorum legendo atque scribendo levemus, donec quem optamus temporis punctus adveniat,
10 quem ceu cetera quae caelestium corporum motu reguntur non dif-
fido esse venturum cum sui cursus finem contigerit. Vale et me tibi commenda.

(PROOEMIUM: e codd. β P v A edidi.) LUCIANI DIALOGUS QUI INSCRIBITUR PHILOSOPHORUM ILLUSTRUM VITARUM VENDITIO LATINUS PER RINUCCIIUM FACTUS AD SERAPHIUM URBINATEM EXIMIUM UTRIUSQUE
5 IURIS INTERPRETEM INCIPIT ET PRIMO PROOEMIUM. Luciani dialogum qui inscribitur philosophorum illustrium vitarum venditio, suavissime mi Seraphi, his proximis caloribus e graeco in latinum verti. Nam cum aegrotantium urbs haec fere diversorium esset, ceteris omnibus posthabitis intra parietes domesticos
10 me continui, tum ut ipsarum aegritudinum si quo pacto valerem casum vitarem tum et maxime ne succumberem persecutionibus illis, quas cum putabam iam diu esse sopitas, fortuna solito dirior exulceravit longe antea acriores. Quae res cum te non fugiat, eam in praesentia valere sinamus putemusque homini in adversis
15 constituto non parum conferre posse gaudere conscientia sua et iuxta Platonis sententiam existimare minus miserum esse illum, si miser appellari debet, qui patitur quam qui agit iniuriam. Insuper pre-

¹ Hinc edidit Bandinius (*Cat.* III, 267) maiorem Prooemii partem.

² In *Cat.* Mazzatintii, num. 121 designatur.

cemur ut quisquis harum persecutionum causa et auctor est aut fuit non lateat illum qui nihil ignorat. Verum enim hoc boni in huius-
 20 modi persecutionibus videor esse consecutus quod hac tempestate cum ex negotio nemini proficere detur otiosus fortasse velit nolitque fortuna plerisque profeci. Quod et multis doctissimis viris contigit, qui cum fortuna eos acrius urgeret se otio tradiderunt, ubi non minus quam in negotio profuerunt hominibus suis. Sed redeat unde
 25 nostra coepit oratio. Hunc dialogum nuper latinum factum non de nihilo ad te scripsi, nam pro diutina inter nos consuetudine percepi te maiori quodam animi ardore Luciani opera in diem magis ac magis complecti, nec id abs re, nam ea verborum elegantia et gravitate sententiarum est ut nemini graecorum sit fere inferior. Verum
 30 quae alii serio scribunt, ea quia Lucianus ioco litteris mandat, multitudo quae gustu caret ac primis labiis vix degustat cortem, illum ut verbis utar eorum truphatorem appellant. At si quis acie non obtusa scripta eius diligenter inspexerit, comperiet quae prima fronte ridicula videntur ea nec elegantius nec castigatius nec exactius nec
 35 examinatus scribi potuisse, quod in hoc opere dum philosophorum sectas aperit maxime cognoscitur. Hanc rem ut lucidius quis tenere possit, in primis etiam argumentum edidi. Verum mihi vitio ne detur, si quaedam graeca verba in exponendo apposui. Nam concedi interpretibus apud maiores nostros comperio ut verbo utantur
 40 graeco si quando minus occurrat latinum. Sed de his in praesentia satis. Ad interpretationem ipsam iam accedamus.

2 QUI INSCRIBITUR *om.* A | 3 RYNUCIUM P v | 3-5 LATINUS . . . PRO-
 HEMIUM *om.* A | 8 diversorum A | 9 domesticas v | 10 cum A | 12 durior v A
 | 14 ea A | 15 constituto *om.* A | 16 estimare P | 20 consecutum β | 22 contin-
 git v | 25 cepit nostra A | 26 diuturna A | precepi β | 27 te in v | 31 vix] vi P
 | 32 truffatorem P | 37 vitio mihi A.

(ARGUMENTUM: e codd. β P v A edidi.) ARGUMENTUM.
*Nundinas Atticas cum nundinatores variis cum mercibus undique
 adventarent advenit et Iupiter una cum Mercurio eius caduciatore
 5 afferens vendibiles philosophorum illustrium vitas, conductaque vena-*
litiaria taberna Iupiter Mercurium sic alloquitur.

4 efferens β | 4-5 venitalia A.

INCIPIT DIALOGUS CUIUS INTERLOQUUTORES SUNT
 IN PRIMIS IUPITER ET MERCURIUS PRAETER HOS
 VITA ET MERCATOR. *Tu quam primum dispone sedilia atque
 venalitium modo . . . si praesenti cum pecunia modo venerit emptor.*

PLATO, AXIOCHUS

Codices: Meliores sunt * β 220^v-230^v; **Arundel. 277 in Mus. Brit.* 116^r-125^v = A; *Vindobon. 2384* 103^r-110^v = W; **Ambros. M 4 Sup.* 104^v-112^r; **Harleian. 4923 in Mus. Brit.* 310^r-314^r; **Vat. 3441* 120^r-128^v; *ibid. Barb. 17* 1^r-29^r. Deteriores sunt **Cusan. 177* 48^r-53^r; *Vat. Urb. 1194* 113^v-128^v. Mutilus est *B 14^r-19^v, qui incipit a verbis "... tuus ille superior sermo etc." (Axiochus § 365 A, αὶ συνεχῆς εὐλογίαί.)

- (PROOEMIUM: e codd. β A w edidi.) REVERENDO IN CHRISTO PATRI DOMINO .A. DEI GRATIA EPISCOPO CAVENSI RINUCIUS FELICITATEM. Herodotus Halcarnasensis suo historiarum opere graece conscripsit fabulam super Arione quodam celeberrimo fidicine. Inquit enim: quidam nomine Ario Methymnaeus oppido insula Lesbios nobilis cantor fidibus fuit. Is posteaquam se gratum amatumque Periandro Corinthiorum regi artis gratia reddidit ab eo proficiscitur terram Siciliam atque Italiam visendi cupidine pellectus. Ubi eo venit et aures mentesque omnium in utraque terra fidibus demulsit, Corinthum redire instituit. Itaque sibi navem delegit et Corinthios nautas ei ut notiores amicioresque. Navi igitur in altum provecta, cum nautae perciperent eum grandi pecunia esse copiosum, consilium capiunt de Arione necando. Tum ille eo consilio perterritus, nautas feros atque immanes summis precibus exorat, ut priusquam mortem oppeteret permitterent se sua indumenta induere, fides capere, et sui casus canere miserabile carmen. Comptus itaque atque ornatus stans summa in puppi carmen solabile sublimi voce cantavit atque sicut stabat canebatque cum fidibus et ornatu procul in pelagus se praecipitavit, sed novum illi mirum ac pium facinus contigit. Nam delphinus quidam mox inter undas adnavit et dorso super fluctus edito natans eum incolu- mem corpore et ornatu in terram Laconicam devexit, ex quo loco Ario repente Corinthum petiit et talem se Periandro regi obtulit qualem delphinus eum devexerat. Ego, pater optime, iam pridem repetens pericula angustias ac labores quos hactenus quam plures terra marique perpetuo sum perpessus, animum induxeram meliorem admodum mihi fortunam aspirare et mei quandoque misereri debere. Sed cum animadverterem crebrioribus in diem ictibus a fortuna sine requie percuti et in acerbiores curas quotidie versari, hoc mihi solatium quaesivi. Nam non ad fides ut Ario ille (nihil enim mihi cum fidibus) sed ad antiqua bonarum artium studia me contuli ut experirer si quo modo fortunam saevam mihi delenire valerem. Itaque e graeco sermone in latinum verti librum Platonis qui inscribitur Axiochus. Ad quem vero potius id ascriberem quam ad te mihi

- 35 amicissimum nemo occurrit et maxime cum tantam litterarum peritiam
habeas quantam < nemo > fere hoc tempore alter et singulari ac paene
admirabili diligentia antiquitatis universae sis curiosissimus atque
viris auctoritate summa praeditis mirabiliter affectus, eoque libentius
hunc laborem mihi assumpsi quod ex tuis sermonibus quos pro tua
40 familiaritate saepe mecum instituis percepi te praecipuo quodam
amore Platonem ipsum amplecti. Quam ob rem hoc opusculum
tuo in nomine latinum feci ut hoc solatio me ab angustiis undique
circumventum solarer et tuae honestissimae voluntati parte ex aliqua
satisfacerem. Itaque si has meas lucubratiunculas tibi viro doctis-
45 simo humanissimoque gratas intellexero atque tua gratia praesidio
et benevolentia quippiam otii dabitur mihi, maiora illius divini homi-
nis opera, quae permulta sunt atque pulcherrima, quietiori animo
ausim attingere. Sed haec iam satis. Aliquando Socratem cum
Axiocho de morte disserentem audiamus.

1-3 rubrica: PROHEMIUM PER RINUICIUM FACTUM β | 3 S(alutem) A
FELICITATEM DICIT w | 3-24 cf. Aul. Gell. xvi, 19 | 5 celeberrime w
| fidicina β A | 6 Mithineus β Mithynens w mithileneus A | 10 constituit β | 11
amicitioresque β | 15 permitteretur A | 18 sublima β w | 20 ac pium om. w | 24
eum om. β | 25 quam plures] complures A | 28 dies A | 33 e] et w | 34 Axio-
chus sive (sequitur lacuna) w Axiochus sine A | eum scriberem A | 36 nemo in-
serui | 38 mirifice A | 40 inscitius precepi β | 43 parte] per te β | 44-45 d. h.
que] h. d. que A | 45 gracias β | 46 otio w | 48-49 Sed . . . audiamus: cf. Cic.
de Opt. Gen. Or. 7,23.

DIALOGUS PLATONIS QUI INSCRIBITUR AXIOCHUS.

Cum in Kynosarges venissem abiremque Ilissum, videor vocem . . .

SOC. Ego in Kynosarges redeam unde ad vos huc sum profectus.

PLATO, CRITO

Codices: [Non vidi *Florent. Riccard.*¹ et **Udinensem.*²] *β 230^v sqq.,
qui ad Prooemium hanc habet rubricam: INCIPIT DIALOGUS
PLATONIS TRADUCTUS E GRECO IN LATINUM FELICITER
PROHEMIUM INCIPIT. Addidit manus posterior "per Rinicium,"

(PROOEMIUM) IMPERATORI CAESARI MANUELI PA-
LAEOLOGO RYNUTIUS FELICITATEM. Apud maiores nostros,
serenissime princeps, mos quidem fuit nimirum laudabilis (is quoque
religione omnium longe approbatus) ut diis praesidentibus fructuum
5 primitiae consecrarentur. Quod hinc vel maxime patere videtur,
nam alii Cereri messium culmos, alii Baccho maturos palmites, alii
iam et Apollini hecatombas offerre solebant. Ego vero graecarum

¹ Vide Ravaglium, p. 39, adn. 1.

² Vide, p. 60, adn. 1.

- cognitione disciplinarum pellectus, patriam parentes ac dulcem tepidumque nidum deserens, implumis praecepsque in caelo ut vides
 10 volutavi remoto. Ex his itaque studiis quibus iam diu multis vigiliis insudavi et maxime in ea civitate quae abs te imperante iusta et recta cum moderatione regitur et gubernatur, tuae Maiestati dedicavi primitias,¹ scilicet dialogum Platonis qui inscribitur Crito, quem nuper latinum feci tuoque in nomine ascripsi. Quod opusculum latinis
 15 quoque verbis lucubratum tibi eiusdem litteraturae etiam non parum perito erit ut arbitror non iniocundum nec parum frugi hominibus quoque nostris et praecipue quia circa leges servandas a Socrate opere in isto divine graviterque disputatur. Quae res dumtaxat ad optimum rerum publicarum statum dicitur esse fundamentum. Sed
 20 haec pauca in praesentia dicta sunt satis. Nunc ad interpretationem accedamus.

1-2 vide p. 60 adn. 1 | 2-3 cf. Rin., Plat. Euth., Prooem. 1 | 3-4 cf. BRUT Prooem. 6-7 | 6-7 cf. Rin., Aristot. de Mundo, Prooem. 59-60 | 18 graveque β.

DIALOGUS QUI INSCRIBITUR CRITO. *Quid adhuc venisti, O Crito? Nondum lucescit dies. CRITO. Maxime. SOC. Quam maxime? ... animo feramus haec, cum a deo sic perducamur.*

PLATO, EUTHYPHRO

Solus est codex *B 20^r-30^v (desunt rubricae).

- (PROOEMIUM) Mos quidem fuit apud maiores nostros, reverentissime pater (eundem apud graecos iam inde ab antiquis usitatum fuisse comperio), ut qui litteris vigilant, suas vigilias principibus sacrent, quae res cum exemplis plurimis maxime intelligi possit,
 5 unum seu alterum nobis satis erit exemplum. Oppianus Cilix poeta sui temporis non obscurus poema suum de natura piscium et animalium versu heroico compositum ad Commodum imperatorem perscripsit, eidemque Commodo Iulius Polydeuces opus emendatissimum de vocabulis rerum dedicavit. Zacharias libros quos de
 10 philosophia scite conscripsit regi Mithridati obtulit. Iustinus philosophus et martyr quos libros contra gentes scripsit Antonino Pio sacravit ac filiis eius. Idque per hosce viros fuisse effectum arbitror non quo praecepta aut disciplinam aliquam principibus proponerent, sed quo animi sui affectio illis innotesceret, ac ex eorum auctoritate
 15 ad quos libri scribuntur ipsis libris accederet licitatio maior, nam merx maiori in pretio tunc habetur ubi praeclari licitatoris inter-

¹ Haec vox, ab humanistis saepe usitata, non significat *primum opus*, id quod credebatur Ravaglius, p. 39.

venit auctoritas. Horum igitur exempla secutus, lucubratiunculas quasdam meas nostris hominibus ut reor non inutiles tuo nomine perscripsi. Quippe cum persecutiones quae iam sopitae putabantur
 20 instar capitis Hydrae solito diriores in me nullo meo vitio exulcerarentur denuo, nec in causa aequa aequum iudicem haberem, atque ancora qua maxime nixus eram non modo mihi defuerit sed nixu proprio praecipitium dederit, duxi animo contra stimulum non calcitrare sed quo melius possim ad felicitiora tempora me servare.
 25 Itaque more maiorum ad litteras rursum conversus, tamquam ad asylum ac refugium calamitatum, cum assidua lectione legendo mihi uni proficere viderem, decrevi scribendo aliis quoque prodesse, nam generosi animi est praecipuum sua studia non ad proprium sed ad commune commodum semper referre. Igitur inter cetera quae his
 30 longioribus noctibus lucubravi, Platonis dialogum de cultu deorum et Graecia traduxi in Latium, eo habitu ut non amplius appareat graecus, ac tuae Dominationi dedicavi. Qui licet sit specie parvus, re tamen longe grandior existit, nam parvi corporis quae sunt, maioris pretii interdum reperiuntur, quod in unionibus ac reliquis gemmis
 35 videri licet, et in pusillis nonnumquam hominibus plus roboris viget quam grandioribus ut de Tydeo testatur Homerus, quem Statius secutus de illo sic ait: Maior in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus. Qui dialogus ut legentibus liquidius pateat, super eo edidi argumentum, quod non huic operi solum sed aliis nonnullis operibus Platonis non
 40 minus utilis comprobabitur. Hunc ergo dialogum ad te mittere constitui, ut mei animi affectionem erga te praecipuam cognoscas et censor existas studiorum meorum, quae demum non frustra suscepisse putabo, si per doctissimam ac sapientissimam auctoritatem tuam comprobabuntur. Nunc ad interpretationem ipsam accedamus, cui
 45 argumentum non abs re praeposui.

1 cf. Rin., Plat. Crito, Prooem. 2-3 | 1-17 cf. BRUT Prooem. 3-23 | 15-16 cf. AESOP Prooem. 5-10 | 32-37 cf. HIPPOC Rin. Epist. 15-19 atque Leon. Aret., Prooem. in Aristot. Oecon. | 37 Stat. Theb. I. 417.

(ARGUMENTUM) *Socrates sui temporis philosophorum omnium princeps, cum in poetas et maxime comicos vehementius inveheretur quod iuvenes eorum fabulis ad vitia irritando corrumpere, Aristophanes poeta comicus temporibus illis eximius fabulam edidit quae*
 5 *inscribitur Strepsiades. In ea Socrates introducit non putare deos quos civitas colebat, et adolescentes seducere, ut sibi magis crederent quam parentibus. Quae fabula publice cum in theatro recitaretur, plebem adversus Socratem vehementer commovit. Huiusmodi occasione captata, delator quidam nomine Meletus per poetas subornatus*
 10 *Socratem impietatis accusat. Socrates dicta sibi die ad praetorium proficiscens, dum iudices ad tribunal exspectat, Euthyphron cuius*

rerum divinarum in scientia maximum apud Athenienses nomen exstabat, admirans illum inter rostra morari insolitum alloquitur eum sic inquiens.

(PLATONIS EUTHYPHRO) *Quid hoc novi, o Socrates, quod relicto Lyceo gymnasio, . . . vitae est, id ut melius quoque viverem.*

PLUTARCHUS, QUID PRINCIPEM DECET

Codices: [Non vidi *Vat.* 4490] *V 90^r-93^r; *β 213^r-218^v; *Arundel. 277 in *Mus. Brit.* 125^v-130^v = A; *Cusan. 177 54^v-57^v = C; *Ambros. M 4 Sup. 100^r-104^v; Laurent. 89 Inf 39 93^r-96^v; Bodleian. Canon. Misc. 352 32^r-35^r; *Vat. 3441 128-134^r, scriptus 7 Kal. Nov. 1517; Vindobon. 3107 64^v-68^r, saec. XVI.

(PROOEMIUM: e codd. V β A C edidi.) REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI CLEMENTISSIMOQUE DOMINO DOMINO GABRIELI MISERATIONE DIVINA TITULI SANCTI CLEMENTIS PRESBITERO CARDINALI SENENSI,
 5 DEI ET APOSTOLICAE SEDIS GRATIA LEGATO BONONIAE EXARCHATUS RAVENNAE ROMANDIOLAE ANCONITANAE ETC. RINUCCIUS SUORUM MINIMUS ATQUE DEVOTISSIMUS FELICITATEM. Rex Persarum Artaxerxes, reverendissime pater domineque piissime, non minus regium esse
 10 putavit laeto animo parva accipere quam magna atque ampla aliis impendere. Aliquando enim in itinere quendam rusticum sibi obviam habuit, qui iunctis in concavum manibus ambabus aquam de flumine arreptam ei obtulit. Quam Artaxerxes subridens fidenti animo hausit, non rei parvitatem negligens sed promptam hominis
 15 voluntatem existimans. Ego quidem itidem animo illustri tuae Dominationis offero parvum hoc Plutarchi opusculum, in quo quid sequi principem deceat et quae vitare conveniat ut principatu dignus existat, breviter satisque abunde absolvitur. Atque ideo libentius ad huius operis interpretationem me contuli, ut qui tui regimen
 20 imperii laudant et tantae rerum molis gubernationem probant intelligant se a summorum philosophorum opinionibus minime discrepare. Si qui vero forte fortuna aliter sentiant, hi tarditate ea ingenii iudicandi sunt ut nihil altum neque egregium valeant intueri, qui ea quoque sunt impudentia ut arbitrentur nec alios id facere debere
 25 ad quod ipsi aspirare non possunt. Dimittamus ergo hos cum ignorantia sua, quoniam nullo pacto sunt audiendi, sed potius pistrino digni existimandi. Ad ipsum denique Plutarchum accedamus. Ro-

gat enim clementiam tuam ut qua facilitate aures ceteris quotidie praestas, eadem animi tranquillitate hoc suum opusculum legas.

1-8 *rubricam de cod. C sumpsi* | 3 GABRIELEM C | 5 BONONIENSI C | 8-11 cf. AESOP Rinucii Epist. Altera 23-26 | 9 -que] quam β | 10 aliis] parvis C | 11-14 cf. Guarinum, Prooem. in Plut. Marium | 15 itidem om. A | 16 Dominationi VAC | 17 decet V β A C | 17-18 ut . . . existat *post* "absolvitur" β | 19 me om. β | tui om C | Regimem β | 21 opiniobus β | minime] magnopere A om. C | 26 sunt] sub- A.

PLUTARCHI OPUSCULUM QUID PRINCIPEM DECET
LATINUM PER RINUCIUM FACTUM. *Platonem Kyrenaei hor-*
tati sunt ut quas . . . multa se indigna Lucullum audire coegit.

PYTHAGORAS, AUREA VERBA

Codices: *V 100^r-101^v; *B 111^r-113^r (desunt rubricae); *β 207^v-209^v; *Bodleian. Canon. Misc. 169 80^r-81^r.

(PROOEMIUM: e codd. V B β edidi.) PYTHAGORAE
PHILOSOPHI AUREA VERBA E GRAECO LATINA PER
RYNUCIUM FACTA AD LITTERATISSIMUM VIRUM .P.
CICCUUM PAULUM CIVEM ROMANUM PROHEMIUM.
5 Credo, ni fallor, mi suavissime Petre, agrum cultoribus non minus
esse gratum qui parum herbarum tritici vero producit quam pluri-
mum, nec vineam vinitori minus esse acceptam quae in pampinis
deficiat et uvis exuberet, necnon arborem quae raris foliis tegitur
minus esse caram dummodo pomis suavis abundet. Quippe folia
10 quae umbram praecipue faciunt eos forte delectant, qui veri fructus
non degustant saporem. Tu igitur qui admodum omissis foliis fru-
gem verae virtutis sequeris, qua sola animus noster pascitur, non
contemnas haec Pythagorae philosophi inter illustres clarissimi dicta
brevibus ac nudis ut sic dicam verbis prolata, quae Salvatoris nostri
15 nataliciorum nocte proxima e graeco feci latina et tuo perscripsi
nomine, nam licet nulla verborum pompa nec aliquo ornatu venerint
in Latium sed simplici dumtaxat veste prout exstant apud suos, ta-
men suci tantum ac virum intra se continent quod non de nihilo a
doctissimis hominibus verba aurea sunt cognominata. Haec si pro
20 tua diligentia paulo diligentius legeris, non dubito quin uti congruum
est ea plurimi lictaberis. Sed iam ad ipsa verba descendamus.

1-4 *rubricam de cod. V sumpsi* | 5 mi om. V | 7 vinitori V | pampnis B | 10
faciunt praecipue B | 11 obmissis V B | 12 depascitur B.

PYTHAGORAE PHILOSOPHI AUREA VERBA INCIPI-
UNT. *Deos immortales ut lege constitutum est in primis adorato,*
... immortalis existes et non amplius mortalis neque corruptibilis.

Hoc opusculum, quod hortatu praeceptoris benemerentis E. K. Rand Cantabrigiae in Nov. Ang. anno MCMV susceperam, postquam ad summos in philosophia honores rite impetrandos, approbantibus viris cl. J. W. White et C. H. Moore, anno MCMVII adhibui, Romae in Schola Americana praeside viro cl. J. B. Carter biennium peregrinans confeci. Nunc demum omnia recensita publici iuris facio.



THE DRAMATIC ART OF MENANDER

C. R. POST

I. *The Nature of the plots*¹

THE first impression which the recently discovered fragments of Menander arouse in the modern reader, touched as he is with the prevalent craze for originality, is likely to be one of monotony. The plots are so similar to one another and to those of the Plautine and Terentian adaptations of the New Comedy that not only may they all

¹ I use as examples not only the papyrus fragments of Menander, but also, as far as seems to me justifiable, the Latin adaptations from the several Greek poets. For the sake of convenience, so that I shall not have to state the derivation each time that I mention a play, I catalogue at once the known imitations by Plautus and Terence that are germane to my purpose.

(a) Menander. The imitations by Terence: —

Εὐνούχος	Chaerea plot of <i>Eunuchus</i> ,
Κόλαξ	Phaedria plot of <i>Eunuchus</i> ,
Ἀνδρία }	coalescing in the <i>Andria</i> ,
Περὶνθία }	
Ἀδελφοί	<i>Adelphi</i> ,
Ἐαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος	Comedy of the same name.

The imitations by Plautus, none of them certain, but all of a greater or less degree of probability: —

Δις ἐξαπατῶν	<i>Bacchides</i> ,
Καρχηδόnius	<i>Poenulus</i> ,
Φιλάδελφοι	<i>Stichus</i> ,
Δύσκολος	<i>Aulularia</i> ,
?	<i>Cistellaria</i> .

(b) Philemon. All the imitations are by Plautus: —

Ἐμπορος	<i>Mercator</i> ,
Θησαυρός	<i>Trinummus</i> ,
Φάσμα	<i>Mostellaria</i> (probably).

(c) Diphilus. The imitations by Plautus: —

Κληρούμενοι	<i>Casina</i> ,
?	<i>Rudens</i> ,
Ὀναγός	<i>Asinaria</i> , if the name Demophilus in the prologue should be read Diphilus.

The imitations by Terence: —

Συναποθνήσκοντες	Abduction scene of <i>Adelphi</i> .
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The Latin plays are so familiar that I have not thought it necessary each time in the article to designate Plautus or Terence as the author.

be reduced to the same fundamental formula, but the terms of the formula admit little elasticity. The formula is simple: a man and a woman, in their desire to be united in love, meet and conquer certain obstacles. If algebraically we represent the separated couple by $x - y$, the obstacles by z , and the mode of overcoming the obstacles by w , we may express the plot by $w \left(\frac{x - y}{z} \right) = x + y$: the man and woman, $x - y$, divided by z , when brought under the operation of a certain manner of rescue, w , are joined as $x + y$. The equation itself might not be so productive of monotony, since a liberal variation in the interpretation of the unknown quantities would result in almost infinite diversity. The majority of modern comedies and novels could be so expressed, but the astounding thing is that Menander and his contemporaries restricted themselves to so few variations of terms. It is only necessary to recall the comedies of Shakspeare, Sheridan, and Pinero, or the novels of Dickens, Thackeray, and Meredith, in order to realize the universality of the formula and at the same time the numberless opportunities for diversity within these limits; Trollope is less broad in his scope, confining himself largely for the term z , the obstacle, to a disparity in social station, though he changes the other members of the formula more freely, and relies for success upon his peerless delineation of character.

The New Comedy is much narrower than Trollope. From the vast complexity of Hellenic life in the fourth and third centuries, for the lover was chosen ordinarily the typical Athenian youth. Occasionally, he is in the prime of life, like Demeas of Menander's *Samia*, a soldier, like Polemon, in his *Periceirromene*, or a slave, as in Plautus's *Persa*. The beloved girl may be freeborn or a courtesan. In a modern comedy, since any of these types might be widely differentiated, especially by the introduction of psychological subtleties unknown to the purer sculptural form of ancient drama, dullness could be averted even within this prescribed circle; but the cast of the New Comedy was composed of stock characters, who were marked with the same traits in each play. The minus sign of the formula stands either for the separation or the attempt at the separation of a pair of lovers, or, as in the *Menaechmi* and the *Stichus*, for the estrangement of man and wife. Of the obstacles the most popular form is that of a mistake, causing jealousy in one

of the pair. In Menander's *Epitrepontes*, Charisius abandons his bride, laboring under the delusion that the child she has borne is not his own; in the *Periceirromene*, Polemon ejects Glycera from his home, ignorant that the man whom he has seen embracing her is her brother; in the *Samia*, Demeas interprets falsely his concubine's fond attention to an infant. In the *Adelphi* of Terence, it is the maiden Pamphila whose jealousy is stirred through a mistaken belief that her betrothed, Aeschinus, who has taken upon himself the sins of his brother, is carrying on a flirtation with a music-girl. The mistake that constitutes the obstacle may involve no jealousy, as in Menander's lost *Phasma*,¹ where the youth was kept from the maiden because he considered her the apparition of a goddess; or the difficulty may lie in mistaken identity, as in the *Menaechmi*, where the husband is estranged from both wife and mistress through confusion with his twin-brother. Another very common impediment is social inequality, discriminating against union with an hetaera or with a virtuous maiden of lower caste or slender means. The source of trouble may also be, as in the *Aulularia*, the niggardliness of a parent, or, as in the *Pseudolus*, the avarice of a procurer, who demands an exorbitant sum beyond the lover's resources. A final and frequent obstacle is rivalry, usually on the part of a boastful captain, but sometimes on the part of the lad's rakish old father, as in the *Mercator* and *Casina*.

The extrication from the imbroglio is managed in one of three ways: by the rectification of the mistake, by the recognition of the indigent maiden or despised courtesan as a long lost and well-born daughter, or by the schemes of a slave or parasite, within the small field of which the poet of the New Comedy had perhaps his best opportunity for invention. Additional variation may be procured through a combination of obstacles, or, as in the *Poenulus* and *Epidicus*, where the dénouement is effected both by the ruses of a slave and by recognition, through a combination of modes of overcoming them. One has only to cast his eye over the motley prospect of contemporary drama to understand that countless other changes were possible, but all the plots of the New Comedy of which we have any adequate knowledge are included within the meagre boundaries that I have outlined.

¹ The plot is sketched by a scholiast, perhaps Donatus, on the *Eunuchus* of Terence, 9.

There is even a further and almost perverse narrowness in the choice in one comedy of the same series of characters, obstacles, and dénouements that occur in another, until the plots are often almost identical. The close parallelism of the *Hecyra* of Apollodorus, appropriated by Terence, to the *Epitrepontes* of Menander was noted as early as the days of Apollinaris Sidonius,¹ and the *Cistellaria*, which is possibly of Menandrian origin, is only very slightly removed. There are striking analogies between the *Mercator*, derived from Philemon, and the *Casina*, from Diphilus, and between the *Persa* and the *Poenulus*; the *Pseudolus* and the *Curculio* are peas of the same pod. The fusion of two Greek originals into one, the famous "contaminatio" of Terence, was rendered more feasible by these similarities, and he himself alludes to the exact resemblance of Menander's *Andria* and *Perinthia*.² Even when the similarity is not extended through the whole play, there is a great monotony of detail in the wearisome repetition of the same devices and situations. The mythological travesties that occasionally appear in the poets of this period are no exceptions, because they are not real New Comedies but relics of the matter of the Middle Comedy. Menander's nearest approach to such parody, the *Leucadia*, a humorous treatment of the half legendary tale of Phaon, the plot of which may be partially gleaned from a note of Servius³ and from what is known of the Latin work of the same name by Sextus Turpiliius, may even be reduced to the formula. The young couple are separated by the obstacle of rivalry in the person of Phaon, an aged ferryman, metamorphosed into a handsome youth by Aphrodite in reward for her free transportation under the disguise of an old hag, and furthermore endowed by her with a love-charm, so that he has become the darling of the other sex. It is not evident how the obstacle was removed. Since the maiden, in the despair of her unrequited affection for Phaon, cast herself from the Leucadian rock only to be rescued by her constant swain, it is possible that in gratitude she returned to her former love; but if a change of heart was caused only by the final restoration of Phaon to his natural shape, then the impediment would be overcome in the ordinary fashion by the rectification of the mistake. The ultimate impression of the New Comedy, despite Antiphanes's exaltation of its invention above that of

¹ *Epist.* 4, 12.

² *Andria*, 9 ff.

³ To Verg. *Aen.* 3, 219.

tragedy, which draws upon the store of mythology,¹ is even more unrelieved than that of classic Italian opera, although, fortunately, the similarity of plot does not result in so ludicrously small a vocabulary.

Menander evidently permitted himself even less freedom than the law allowed. The term *y* very regularly belongs to the class of Hetaerae, liaisons with whom Martial² seems to have believed that he introduced upon the stage with his *Thais*. Suidas, to be sure, ascribed to his predecessor of the Middle Comedy, Anaxandrides, the invention of the amorous intrigue,³ but Menander may have extended it to the *demi-monde*. Of the newly recovered plays, the *Periceiomene* and the *Samia* have as feminine protagonists women so low in the social scale that they can enter upon nothing higher than the relation of concubinage. In the plays that are known from Terence, the "leading lady" was a courtesan in the *Andria* and *Perinthia*, in the *Colax*, furnishing the Phaedria motive of the *Eunuchus*, and the *Eunuchus*, furnishing the Chaerea motive of the same comedy, and in the *Heautontimorumenus*; in the *Adelphi*, one of the two prominent feminine figures practises the same trade. Of the five Plautine dramas that are possibly Menandrian, a like arrangement is observed in the *Bacchides*, *Poenulus*, and *Cistellaria*. Menander also confines the term *zō* within a narrow circle: the extrication from obstacles by recognition seems to have been his special predilection, and it is possible that it was actually he who transferred the ἀναγνώρισις from tragedy to comedy.⁴ It is found in the four comedies of the Cairo manuscript, probably in the *Georgus*,⁵ and in at least half of the plays that are known through Latin adaptations, — the *Andria*, *Perinthia*, *Eunuchus*, *Heautontimorumenus*, *Poenulus*, and *Cistellaria*. Inasmuch, however, as the Cairo manuscript may contain a particular selection of comedies of the recognition type, if we could recover all the work of Menander, the proportion might possibly not be so great.

The comic poets, then, evidently set very slight value upon originality. Such, indeed, was the general attitude of antiquity and even of modern

¹ Ed. Kock, frg. 191.

² 14, 187.

³ *Lexicon*, article on Anaxandrides.

⁴ Quintilian (10, 1, 69) observes the special dependence of Menander upon Euripides.

⁵ Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Lit.*, vol. II, ed. of 1911, p. 32.

times until after the Renaissance; and it is only the romantic movement and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that have craved novelty. The ideal of the past has been to repeat again and again the same subject until it has achieved perfect expression. The sculptor carves the same deities as his predecessors, the tragic poet utilizes the well-worn myths, the comic writer the familiar intrigues, each impressing upon the old matter his own individuality in the hope that his interpretation may prove the ultimate. What originality antiquity demanded was only in treatment. Actual plagiarism could not have been any more condemned than it was in the Renaissance, if we believe Porphyry that Menander filched bodily the *Οἰωνιστής* of Antiphanes for his *Δεισιδαίμων*.¹ Since the audiences of the fourth and third centuries required originality of substance only in one or two details, the procedure of the comic poet was to take an old plot, to superimpose upon it one or two striking but trifling novelties, and ordinarily to suggest what was new by the title. That this is an adequate definition of a New Comedy is proved by a review of the extant material.

Menander affords many typical examples. The story of the *Epitrepontes* is the familiar quarrel between lovers through a mistake and a solution through recognition, and the innovation consists in the submission to a passerby of a dispute about the possession of certain tokens belonging to an exposed child, so that the play is called, *Those Who Resort to Arbitration*. To virtually the same substance in the *Periceiomene* is added the innovation of the incensed soldier's clipping of his sweetheart's hair, with the consequent title of, *The Girl of The Shorn Locks*. The *Phasma* is named after the curious form which the obstacle of the mistake assumes, the idea that the maiden is merely a vision. The novelty of the *Heautontimorumenus* is the remorseful condition of the father, Menedemus, and the comedy is styled the *Self-tormentor*.² Since the interest of the *Adelphi* lies in the dissimilar

¹ Porphyry., quoted by Euseb., *Praep.*, *Ev.* 10, 3, 13.

² Colman (*The Comedies of Terence, Translated, etc.*) in his note upon line 7 supposes that the title was more appropriate to the Menandrian prototype, because the character of Menedemus was there thrown into stronger light; but there are absolutely no grounds for assuming this difference between the Greek and Roman plays. He has evidently failed to discern the common practice of naming after a new but subordinate detail.

temperaments of two old brothers and in their effect upon the characters of two young brothers whom they have educated, a title is used which might apply to either or both pairs. Sometimes the innovation is one of emphasis, as is the possibly Menandrian *Stichus*, where, with the old subject of an estrangement between husband and wife through a mistake, in this case the conviction that the husband will not return from his travels, the stress is upon the rôle of the parasite who tries to extract a largess by his good news of the home-coming, and the comedy is therefore called after him. Likewise in the *Georgus* or *Farmer*, the emphasis is upon the kindness of the countryman, Cleaenetus. Certain preserved titles, though the plots are lost, reveal what the new things must have been, — the *Mourner of Himself* (Αὐτὸν πενθῶν), in which Kock suggests that a man was falsely believed dead or feigned death, the *Θεοφορομένη*, in which the novelty was probably the real or supposed prophetic power of the heroine. In the latter instance, as in the *Heautontimorumenus* and the *Adelphi*, the innovation is in the profession or mental condition of one of the characters. Rarely the novelty goes deeper, varying somewhat the algebraic formula. In the *Eunuchus*, which provided one part of Terence's "contaminated" play of the same name, the lad Chaerea himself, and not, as ordinarily, a slave, vanquishes the obstacle to the realization of his love through disguise as a eunuch; the *Colax*, or *Flatterer*, from which the other part of the comedy is drawn, is named, according to the common principle of emphasis, after the parasite who smooths away the difficulties by his soft and specious language. In calling his works after these slight innovations rather than according to the general nature of the plot, Menander aimed at arousing at once the curiosity of his fellow-citizens by piquant titles, just as modern managers demand of playwrights such striking nomenclature as, *What Every Woman Knows*, *When Bunty Pulls the Strings*, or *Mind the Paint, Girl*.¹

The procedure of the other poets of the New Comedy was analogous. The *Mostellaria*,² if it is derived from the *Phasma* of Philemon, is named both in Greek and Latin from the curious mode of conquering the

¹ It is perhaps the necessity of a striking title that Antiphanes has in mind when he mentions *ὀνόματα καινά* as one of the elements of comic invention; cf. Kock, frg. 191.

² *Mostellaria* is an adjective formed upon *mostellum*, which is a diminutive of *mostrum*, a prodigy.

obstacle to the young profligate's enjoyment of his mistress, — the slave's pretence to the father that the house in which the scenes of debauchery are occurring is haunted. In the *Thesaurus* of Philemon, adapted by Plautus in the *Trinummus*, the threadbare tale of the separation of two lovers by the mistake of thinking that they have no money, the innovation is the emphasis upon the kindness of the friend who secretly preserves for them a treasure, from which, however, and not in the usual fashion from the person emphasized, it gets its title. Plautus, breaking the rule even more violently, finds a name in the very subordinate detail of a sharper's remuneration. The *Clerumenoe* of Diphilus, reflected in the *Casina*, receives its title from the peculiar episode in which the rival son and sire cast lots for the possession of the shameless heroine; but although the surprise is centered in this and the other modes employed to outwit the amorous father, the Roman poet, departing again from Greek usage, calls the comedy after the bone of contention, *Casina*. The novelty may be in the mere setting of the play, as in the *Rudens*, drawn from an unknown comedy of Diphilus, where the common subject of the separation of two lovers by a procurer's avarice has as a background the shore upon which the leno and his white slaves have been wrecked; but Plautus names it after the additional innovation, the rope, by which is extracted from the sea the casket of tokens that cause the recognition. Apollodorus obtained his title, the *Epidicazomenus*, for the original of the *Phormio*, from the chief trick of the parasite, the pretence of bringing suit; Terence calls it after the parasite himself. Since the invention of the poet is so often directed towards the devices of the slave or parasite, the comedy is frequently named either from one of his new tricks, as the *Mostellaria* and *Epidicazomenus*, or, on the rule of emphasis, from the rogue himself, as the *Phormio*, the *Epidicus*, the *Pseudolus*, and the *Curculio*. In the *Truculentus*, as in Menander's *Eunuchus*, the novelty provokes a slight change in the usual formula, the adroitness occurring in the person, not of a slave, but of the courtesan, Phronesium, who hoodwinks three different suitors, but inasmuch as there is a certain freshness about the figure of the boorish serf, Strabax, the work is styled the *Churl*. I have not mentioned all the known plots, but an examination of the others will demonstrate that, with the important exception of the *Captivi*, they may be brought

within the scheme of originality and nomenclature that I have outlined. The *Captivi* is the only New Comedy of utterly novel plot, approximating rather a recognition drama of the Euripidean type, and Plautus, realizing the sameness of the ordinary run of comedies, plumes himself at length in the prologue upon its uniqueness.

The effervescent imagination and the unflagging invention that constitute so much of the charm of Aristophanes had gone the same downward road as the rest of Periclean vigor and enthusiasm. For this loss of freshness of spirit the Middle Comedy had substituted parody of mythology and burlesque of tragedy and philosophy; for the originality of the Old Comedy the New Comedy employs as a partial substitute complication of plot. Were knowledge of the genre restricted to the Terentian repertoire, the complication would appear greater than is actually true, and it is necessary to remember that here two Greek originals coalesce into one. Some comedies are simple enough, — the possibly Menandrian *Stichus*, and especially those the essence of which is the trickery of a slave, the *Persa*, the *Curculio*, and the like; but a general review of the extant material and especially of the newly discovered Menander proves that the Athenians of this period relished intricacy. The obscurity is often due to the mistake, which constitutes the pivot of action, in Menander usually the mistaken identity, which is removed by the recognition, but occasionally, as in Terence, there are two interlaced strains. From the four plays of the Cairo manuscript, the only example is the *Samia*, which recounts the difficulties of two pairs of lovers. Another source of confusion is the incessant prevarication of slaves, so that it is hard for the audience itself to follow the real condition of affairs. In the desperately complicated *Epidicus*, all these causes of perplexity at their worst are combined: not only are there two couples, Stratippocles enamoured of a captive whom he does not know to be his half-sister Telestis, and a Captain enamoured of a music-girl, Acropolistis, but Stratippocles has further involved matters by transferring his affections from Acropolistis to Telestis, with the result that the spectator scarcely understands who is in love with whom; second, there is a double confusion of identity, since Telestis resides in the home of her father under the name of Acropolistis and Acopolistis as Telestis; and the final drams to weigh down the scale of perplexity are the lies of the slave

from whom the comedy takes its name. The interest of such plays, from which the audience derives the same rather spurious delight as from puzzles in unravelling the entanglement, is analogous to that of detective stories. The dramatic appeal is of a low order, as compared to the sterner and nobler attractions of an exquisitely wrought plot, a profound sympathy with human character, the stimulation through the action of the spectators' finer sensibilities, the inculcation of a wholesome moral lesson, or Aristophanic invention; and, as the detective story finds its fondest patronage in the jaded mind, so the complicated plot marks a debased condition of the theatre. The difference may be illustrated by a comparison of the great tragedies of Corneille's early period with those of his latter days, when having drained himself dry, he relied for success upon such involution and had acquired so degraded a conception of the drama that he himself boasted that the *Héraclius* could not be comprehended without a second reading.

The plots of Menander are by no means pure comedy. The underlying motive, the separation of two lovers, is usually rather serious, because they have true affection for each other; this, of course, is the theme of all the New Comedy, and yet the passion is often not of the same deep nature as in the *Epitrepontes* and *Periceirumene* but rather a mere caprice, which may be used without incongruity as a hinge for humorous situations. Often others are involved in the sorrow caused by the separation, especially, as in the *Georgus*, the mother of the wronged maiden. There is little in Menander of the farcical, in which Philemon must have excelled, if we may judge from the *Mercator* and the *Mostellaria*, two of Plautus's most comical plays. In the former the young Charinus has brought back, from his trading expedition to Rhodes, the fair Pasicompsa, pretending that she is to be a servant of his mother; but his dissolute old father Demipho, becoming enamoured of her at first sight, alleges that she is too pretty for such an office, insists that she be sold, and, in order that he may secretly consort with her, slyly has his friend Lysimachus purchase her and take her home. Many very diverting complications are thus produced. Pasicompsa, on coming to the house of Lysimachus, in a belief that she has been bought for Charinus, indulges in an encomium upon him as a young, true, and handsome lover, while Lysimachus understands her words to refer to the withered roué, Demipho. The wife of Lysi-

machus, jumping at the conclusion on her return that her husband has obtained Pasicompsa for his own delectation, falls into a towering passion in a scene which attains a climax at the appearance upon the stage of a cook and scullions to prepare a symposium which the wife thinks Lysimachus to have ordered. The whole comedy is similar to a modern French farce with domestic difficulties of a "risqué" nature. The *Mos-tellaria* is cast in an analogous mould. The comic situation is created by Theopropides's surprise of his son and his son's friend, dissipating with their mistresses, and the ludicrous measures taken by Tranio, who is among the cleverest of Plautine slaves, to prevent the father from learning the unpleasant truth. He first frightens Theopropides from his house, in which the debauch is taking place, by declaring that it is haunted; caught in a new trap by a banker's arrival to demand the interest on the money borrowed by the son for liberating his mistress, Tranio, the prototype of Corneille's *Menteur*, leaps at another lie, pretending that the youth has obtained the sum to buy the house of a neighbor Simo; driven into another corner by the desire of Theopropides to inspect the purchase, he gets permission from Simo and very humorously conducts his old master through the house under the delusion that it is his own; a final "screaming" situation is developed when Theopropides, crediting the tales with which Tranio has regaled him, is confronted with the slave of his son's comrade in vice and recounts these prevarications as gospel truth to the bewildered fellow, who knows the actual condition of affairs. That Plautus himself, and Philemon, if the Latin is faithful to the Greek, relished the extremely diverting farce of this play, is indicated by Tranio's taunt to Theopropides at the end:

"Si amicus Diphilo aut Philemoni es,
dicito is quo pacto tuo' te servos ludificauerit:
optumas frustrationes dederis in comoediis."¹

If Leo rightly reads the names Diphilus and Philemon in the somewhat doubtful text of the first line, then the former also would seem to have had a reputation as a composer of farces; and indeed the *Clerumenoe*, reflected in the *Casina*,² is in the rollicking mode of Philemon with even some common horseplay when the two slaves of the litigants cudgel

¹ 1149-1151.

² Cf. below, p. 137.

each other about for apparently no other reason than to gratify the vulgar part of the audience. The element of horseplay would constitute another ground for assigning the *Asinaria* to *Diphilus*,¹ since the son is obliged by a slave to perform the most humiliating pranks for the amusement of the rabble in order to obtain the money for his mistress.²

Menander, as far as he is known, does not write in this vein. The *Bacchides*, if it is his, is the nearest approach, because of its lightness of tone, but it contains no such side-splitting situations as those that I have just outlined. Capps denominates the *Samia* as a farcical comedy,³ but, as it seems to me, with unstable arguments. The whole atmosphere of the play is distinctly serious, almost sad; and the only detail that might possibly be interpreted as farcical, though its results are disastrous, is Demeas's assumption that the infant which Chrysis fondles is her own; Capps arrives at his conception partly by unnecessarily imagining the existence of another infant with which Moschion's child is confused. Perhaps because of his aversion to sheer farce as well as because of his subtlety⁴ Menander did not enjoy during his lifetime the popularity of his rival Philemon; and it is in a serene consciousness of his own real and enduring superiority to his rival's baser appeal and courting of the crowd that in the anecdote of Aulus Gellius⁵ he says: "Thy pardon, Philemon, but tell me, when thou winnest the victory, dost thou not blush?"

The recovery of a portion of Menander's work reveals in him a greater profundity and sincerity of feeling than had hitherto been suspected. A corollary of the more practical philosophy of life prevalent in the fourth and third centuries is the almost total lack of sentiment betrayed in the great majority of comedies which reflect this life. Love, to be sure, is the dominant motive of all New Comedy, but it is usually love which approaches mere sensual passion and from which are largely absent romance and poetry, or, in a word, that vague thing called sentiment, which elevates human love above that of the beasts which perish. The modern is shocked, too, by the slightness of family affection. The faithlessness of husband to wife is an everyday affair and is contemplated with indifference; even when the marriage vows are not broken, there

¹ Cf. above, p. 111, n. 1.

² III, 3.

³ E. Capps, *Four Plays of Menander*, p. 230.

⁴ Cf. below, p. 139.

⁵ 17, 4, 2.

is little or no tenderness between the pair. Parental affection runs at a low ebb. The exposure of children is a common and unchallenged custom; the father receives his long-lost daughters, as in the *Poenulus*, with no show of warmth. The absence of feeling does not necessarily imply that Hellenic emotions were any less poignant than our own, for in the *Poenulus*, the father has spent his life in searching for his stolen offspring; it means only that they were not voiced in the literature. That chaste restraint, which is the most precious legacy of the Greeks to future ages, led them scrupulously to avoid in art of every kind false and sensational sentiment, or sentimentality. The freedom from mawkish emotion constitutes the noblest quality of Periclean literature; and the coldness of the New Comedy, which, in its abhorrence of sentimentality, goes too far and excludes even legitimate sentiment, is only the vice of a virtue. Our modern theatre has proved convincingly that of the two evils of excessive or defective sentiment the latter is by all means to be preferred: an extreme instance is Faversham's production of *Julius Caesar*, which, in an appeal to the craving for emotionalism and in a desire to provide an affecting conclusion for the second act, audaciously violates Shakspeare's text by admitting Calpurnia to the Senate House to wail over her husband's body. The new plays of Menander are in this respect less rigid. In the *Hero*, even a character that usually is singularly obtuse to human feeling, a slave, has so unselfish a love that he is willing to take upon himself the blame for his sweetheart's unfortunate condition. Charisius in the *Epitrepontes* is so desperate at the loss of his bride Pamphila that he seeks to forget his sorrow in an unwonted round of dissipation. In the *Samia* Moschion, loath to be parted from Plangon and to break the troth that he has plighted her, denies himself the vengeance upon his father of eschewing Athens and seeking his fortune in the wars. It is more than mere animal passion that makes Polemon in the *Periceïromene* cry out in an agony of sorrow for her who is in all essentials his wife:¹

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι

λέγω, μὰ τὴν Δῆμητρα, πλὴν ἀπάγξομαι.

Γλυκέρα με καταλέλοιπε, καταλέλοιπέ με

Γλυκέρα.

¹ 254-257; the numbering is that of Körte's text in the Teubner edition.

It is possible that if more original Greek comedies are discovered, we shall find that the other poets were not so heartless as the adaptations of the more stoical Romans would suggest.

A final deterrent to the appreciation of these comic plots is the low moral standard. The sturdiness of the race that had beaten back the waves of oriental invasion at Marathon and at Salamis had been weakened. The supreme culture of the Periclean age had come, but, like all culture, it enervated the nation that it civilized. It carried in its skirts and left in its trail degeneration. Hellas of the fourth and third centuries is to be compared to Italy of the Cinquecento and Secento, decadent after the great cultural achievements of the Renaissance. The Athenians, having lost their lofty code of ethics, are content if the superficialities of life are artistic and pleasant, caring little what vice lurks behind. Aestheticism, as always after a great period, is substituted for morality. This laxity is best reflected in contemporary comedy. Aristophanes, of course, reeks with the foulest indecency, but it is like the smell of the rustic sod from which Old Comedy had sprung. It is the rugged and boisterous indecency of stalwart men, one of the many outlets to the superfluous energy of the fifth century, and amidst all this coarseness there had always shone a certain idealism. Aristophanes had always set before himself some noble purpose, such as the amelioration of the state or a return to the upright days of the Persian Wars, and with all his license and vulgarity he had never for a moment forgotten his high mission. The New Comedy has no such ideal; it is satisfied merely to amuse. There is, indeed, dimly to be discerned, a certain semblance of an ideal, which Menander and his fellows accept and would wish their audiences to follow, a mild application of the old precept, *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, combined with an aversion for the irrational. The underlying motive in these principles of moderation and of common sense is not purely ethical, but rather aesthetic; extremes and absurdities are to be avoided because they mar the elegance and beauty of existence. Culture and good taste have become the touchstones of conduct. Menander himself, in the interesting passage of the *Epitrepontes* which reveals the influence of Epicurus, his schoolmate, strikingly sets forth this attitude by defining vice as abnormality and ignorance.¹ The words *νοῦς* and *λογισμός*, as the ultimate courts of

¹ 559: *ποῶν μηδὲν ἄτοπον μηδ' ἀμαθές*.

appeal, re-echo through his verses as "raison" through French literature of the seventeenth century, and might almost be spelled with a capital letter :

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν, πάτερ, ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει
μείζον λογισμοῦ τῷ διαθέσθαι πράγματα.¹
ὁ νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἐν ἐκάστῳ θεός.²

The comic writer inculcates these principles when he exhibits how those who violate them are punished, — the misers, the ill-tempered or superstitious, the fathers who err too far on the side of severity or indulgence, the youths who fail through stupidity or dissipation. But such a vague and general philosophy of life is not to be compared with the high and specific lessons that Aristophanes embodied in his plays; and it is only implicit in the works of the New Comedy, not plainly and definitely stated, and could have been gleaned only by those who had ears to hear. Those many fragments that frankly preach Epicureanism might seem negations of the shadowy ideal that I have indicated. There can be no doubt that the doctrines of Epicurus were the most popular of the time and the most readily followed. The real gospel of Epicurus, however, was not a reckless search for pleasure, but a search restricted within such bounds of mental and physical health that it in no wise conflicted with the lenient interpretations of λογισμός and σωφροσύνη. Many even at that day, of course, found it easier to misconceive Epicureanism as mere sensuality, and this lower form of the philosophy also sometimes expressed itself in the contemporary drama.

Now for the plain speech of Aristophanes, which would have shocked the tender sensibilities of the elegant Athenian of the fourth century, are substituted the much more insidious covert jest and the noxious suggestiveness that characterize modern French comedy. Profligacy and prostitution are taken as matters of course and encounter no real reprobation. Truth and honor fall prey to artful slaves or courtesans for the diversion of the spectators. The scapegrace son is victorious over his honest father. Many examples may be noted in the course of this study; one of the worst of all is the *Truculentus*, in which a harlot

¹ Kock, 247.

² Kock, 762.

receives and drains of their resources three different lovers, and instead of being humiliated, is in the end triumphant. The closest analogy is the polite but festering Restoration Comedy ensuing upon the rough but wholesome drama of the Elizabethan era.

II. *The Manipulation of the Plots*

How were these monotonous and intricate plots treated? Before approaching this division of our subject, it is necessary to note one great extraneous influence which had come to play upon the genre, that of tragedy, and particularly of tragedy as modified by Euripides, who in the fourth century was still the most popular dramatic poet and who himself had brought the literary type in which he composed closer to comedy by approximating it to everyday life.

Whether through the influence of more serious drama or because of the general spirit of the ancient theatre, comedy begins at the same point in a given imbroglio as tragedy.¹ Both the comic and tragic poet represent before the eyes of the spectators only the outcome of a situation, whereas the modern playwright usually, though, because of the spell which Ibsen has cast over all forms of contemporaneous drama, not always, depicts to the audience its beginning, development, and culmination. To express the condition in terms of the formula, the $\frac{x-y}{z}$ section, or the division of the couple, is already a fact, and the action of the play consists only in the operation of the term w , the method of obviating the impediment. With a few slight and negligible exceptions, a New Comedy, properly speaking, is nought but a dénouement. The ancient writer is thus immediately confronted with a more difficult problem of exposition than the modern: the latter has to explain only the relations of the several characters and can trust to the action itself to exhibit those complications in which he purposes to entangle them; the former has to explain as much plus the complications in which the characters are already entangled before the opening of the play. In addition he usually has to reckon with a more involved mesh of circumstances.

¹ Cf. my articles on Aeschylus, *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.*, 1905, pp. 17 ff., and on Sophocles, *ibid.*, 1912, p. 115.

One of the means that he adopts to meet the problem of exposition is the Euripidean prologue, which may have entered comedy in the Middle period, first by way of parody, of which there are several examples in the fragments of Antiphanes¹ and Eubulus.² We need not debate the knotty question whether the prologue, as employed by Euripides, was a superfluous accretion to tragedy for the display of rhetorical dexterity; in any case, it proved invaluable to comedy for the exposition of plots which are often so involved that the action would be unintelligible unless preceded by this clear and straightforward statement of antecedent events, disassociated from the body of the play. If the prologues of Plautus may be used as criteria for the Greek originals, they did not often go further than such a statement. Euripides has been accused of using the prologue to give a short résumé of what is to happen in the drama itself, but as a matter of fact, he is guilty of this aesthetic blemish almost as seldom as the New Comedy. That the prologue was taken over from tragedy only in order to solve the difficult problem of exposition is indicated by Plautus's omission of it where little elucidation is required. The meagre plot of the possibly Menandrian *Stichus* precludes a prologue; there is none for the *Mostellaria*, possibly derived from Philemon, because the audience need to be informed only of a son's dissipation in his father's absence, or for the *Persa*, because the audience need to know only of the slave's passion. The prologue of the *Pseudolus* consists merely of a little persiflage, since the exposition has to relate only a youth's intrigue with a courtesan, who is about to be sold to a military officer; the prologue of the *Asinaria*, the plot of which is similar, reveals little more than the name of the play and the Greek source. The only surprise in Plautus is the *Epidicus*, in which the intricate nature of the plot would arouse expectation of a prologue that does not exist. The prologues of Terence afford no basis of judgment for the Greek prototypes, in that they discuss his contests with rivals and general literary conditions but disclose little or nothing of the plot. The excessive complication of Terence's comedies render this procedure all the more astounding; he dared to adopt the more natural modern mode of exposition within the action itself probably because with his defter hand he felt himself cap-

¹ Ed. Kock, 18, 73, 191.² Ed. Kock, 10.

able of managing it better than the ruder Plautus. Except in so far as the Plautine norm may be taken as evidence, it is impossible to determine with any certainty the usage of Menander. In the one extant prologue of the *Periceïromene*, the preceding circumstances are revealed and the vaguest kind of a hint at a happy dénouement is vouchsafed. A passage from Machon, quoted by Athenaeus,¹ may be interpreted so as to suggest that Diphilus at least introduced personal satire into this portion of the play, which thus would have absorbed some of the elements of the old parabasis, but it is possible that, unlike Terence, he also made an exposition at this point. As the vigor died out of comedy and in the third century gave place to literary virtuosity, the composers of prologues indulged themselves in alphabetic acrostics and verses that read the same from the beginning or from the end of the line.²

In Menander and in the other poets of the period they are often spoken, as in Euripides, by divinities that play no other rôle in the action. Sometimes it is one of the regular deities: the tutelary god of the household in the *Hero* of Menander and in the probably Menandrian *Aulularia*, the stellar god Arcturus in the *Rudens*, Dionysius, Eros, and Aphrodite, in anonymous papyrus fragments.³ Frequently it is an appropriate allegorical deity: Misapprehension in the *Periceïromene*, who personifies the obscurity as to the truth in which the characters are involved; Elenchus or Scrutiny in a lost play of Menander;⁴ Auxilium or Help, in the possibly Menandrian *Cistellaria*, personifying the assistance to the heroine in the discovery of her parents; in a play of Philemon,⁵ Air, which, like Anaximenes, he makes the

¹ 579 e-580 g. Christ (*Gesch. der griech. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 28, n. 4) so understands the passage; but the actual verses say no more than that Diphilus somewhere in his comedies used personal satire and that his prologues were cold, and there is not necessarily any connection between the two statements.

² For example, cf. the prologues published by P. Jouguet, *Bull. de corr. hell.*, 30, 1906, p. 141.

³ G. Kaibel, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1899, pp. 549 ff.; P. Jouguet, *op. cit.* The beginning of the short St. Petersburg fragment of Menander's *Phasma* seems to be a part of the prologue, possibly a dialogue between two deities. Nicolau de Olmer, in his elaborate edition of the new Menander (*El teatro de Menandro*, Barcelona, 1911-12), supposes, on what seems to me insufficient evidence, the opening section of the *Samia* to be from the prologue.

⁴ Lucian, *Pseudolog.* 4; cf. Kock, *frg.* 545.

⁵ Possibly the *Philosophi*.

primal element, and therefore omnipresent and cognizant of all things;¹ Luxury and Poverty engaged in a dialogue in the *Trinummus* and therefore probably in the *Thesaurus* of Philemon; Fear in a lost and anonymous comedy mentioned by Sextus Empiricus;² Wisdom in the *Sella* of Afranius.³

But the formal prologue does not suffice for the double exposition of characters and entanglement which falls to the lot of the ancient dramatist; to insure clarity, there is within the play itself, again upon the precedent of Euripides, a repetition of the exegesis already given by the prologue, though often not so explicit, so that the condition of affairs would not be plain without the prologue for an introduction. In the *Captivi*, to take a typical instance, immediately after the elaborate prologue, the parasite Ergasilus reiterates what the spectators have already been told about the unhappy state of the bereft father, Hegio.

Menander seems frequently to have modified the normal method of exposition. He employed the Euripidean prologue; but conscious of its stilted nature, and unwilling to frustrate at the very beginning the impression of realism, he first brought upon the stage two or more characters, who through dialogue revealed the situation in part or in whole, and he transposed the prologue to the second place in order to recapitulate or sometimes also to add new information. Occasionally, to assist in the opening expository dialogue, was introduced a person who had no vital connection with the plot and did not appear again and who was therefore styled an introductory character or a *πρόσωπον προτατικόν*.⁴ There are two examples in the extant work of Menander and one in a possibly Plautine adaptation. The *Hero* begins with a conversation between the slaves Davus and Geta, the latter probably a protatic character, in which it is explained that Davus is in love and wishes to marry Plangon, for whose embarrassing condition he will assume the responsibility, and that the master Laches is about to return and bring matters in the household to a crisis. Here our text stops, but inasmuch as Davus knows little more of the antecedents of the plot, there

¹ *Vita Arati*, II, 438; cf. Kock, frg. 91.

² Kock, frg. ades., 154.

³ Ribbeck, *Afranius*, 299.

⁴ The phraseology is derived from Donatus's comment upon the prologue of the *Andria*, in which a drama is divided into *πρότασις*, *ἐπιτασις*, and *καταστροφή*.

must have been forthwith revealed in a prologue by the family god or Hero the involved story of Plangon's and her brother's exposure and their subsequent vicissitudes up to the time of the play. The preserved fragments of the *Periceïromene*, the first part of which is lost, begin with the prologue by **Ἀγνοία* or Misapprehension, who relates the early history of Glycera and her brother and her quarrel with her lover Polemon. Since there is no mention of his clipping of her hair, it is to be surmised that there was reference to this episode in the lost introduction; and since by the manner in which allusion is made to them in the extant verses, it is evident that Polemon, his servant, Sosias, and Glycera had already appeared upon the stage, the quarrel must actually have taken place in this scene or at least have been described. The loss of one part of the exposition in both these comedies renders it impossible to determine how far details of information were recapitulated. If the *Cistellaria* may be assigned to Menander, the completeness of the text places the critic in a better position. It is learned in the initiatory dialogue of the procuress and the poverty-stricken heroine, Silenium, that she is not an ordinary prostitute but the mistress of one lover, Alcesimarchus, who has promised to wed her but is being coerced by his father into another marriage. There ensues a soliloquy of the procuress, who reiterates these facts and goes on to declare that she had picked up Silenium as an exposed infant and consigned her to Melaenis to bring up as a daughter. Then comes the prologue in the mouth of Auxilium or the God of Help. The author betrays his consciousness of the repetition of the exegesis, in that he causes Auxilium to state that the loquacity of the procuress has left little to be said; but Help first recapitulates the whole story of Silenium, so that of some details there is a threefold exposition, then proceeds to add what is known only to supernatural powers, the actual parentage of the girl, and concludes with an account of her father's life. A comparison of these three introductions illustrates what is probably Menander's general method. He allows one group of characters to reveal what they themselves know, and he relegates to the formal prologue what information lies only in the minds of another character or group of characters, as in the *Hero*, the liaison of Phidias and Plangon, of which the slaves are probably not cognizant, or as in the *Cistellaria*, the checkered matrimonial career of the father. In the *Miles Gloriosus*, the original of which is not known, the pro-

logue by the slave Palaestrio is in the same place, but there is a variation from the standard of Menander in that the exposition is not divided between a god and human beings and in that the first scene is used, not for a statement of facts, but merely for sketching the boastful and conceited character of the typical captain, Pyrgopolinices, through a dialogue with the protatic parasite, Artotrogus. Of the other possibly Menandrian comedies of Plautus, the *Aulularia* and the *Poenulus* have the prologue in the first place, the *Stichus* needs none, and the text of the opening portions of the *Bacchides* is in so sad a condition that no conclusion may be drawn.¹ Terence's prologues are so largely his own that nothing can be divined as to the Menandrian precedent; and the fragments of Menander preserved through quotations by ancient writers are exasperatingly silent. It is not difficult to guess why Menander sometimes, at least, may have resorted to the method which I have outlined: since human personalities are more interesting than allegorical abstractions or the frigid deities of fourth century religion, and since conversation mirrors actuality better than the stereotyped soliloquy of the prologue, he preferred to open the play with dialogue, realizing that success often depends upon the first impression.

In his desire for realism he goes even further and seeks to alleviate somewhat the formality of the expository soliloquy by finding for it a natural justification. In a fragment from the exposition of the *Epiclerus*,² the speaker apologizes that sleep has made him talkative; the procuress at the beginning of the *Cistellaria* seeks indulgence for her chatter by the excuse of a full stomach.

Besides the prologue, the New Comedy appropriated from Euripides, its most inveterate and cleverest manipulator, the ἀναγνώρισις.³ It is safe to assert that mutual recognition between relatives long lost and unknown to one another is an important factor in an overwhelming

¹ The existing prologue to this comedy is in all probability spurious.

² Kock, 164.

³ Professor Clifford H. Moore has called my attention to an apposite passage in the newly discovered life of Euripides by Satyrus: "... reversals of fortune, violations of virgins, substitutions of children, recognitions by means of rings and necklaces. For these are the things which comprise the New Comedy and were brought to perfection by Euripides." Cf. *Oxyr. Pap.* IX, p. 149, fr. 39, col. VII, and p. 176; cf. also F. Leo, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1912, p. 281.

majority of the comedies about which we possess any information, especially in the work of Menander. Common forms are a man's discovery of a woman whom he had violated, or a parent's discovery of a child who had been kidnapped or exposed; in the former case, the ignorance on the part of the man is often due, as in the *Epitrepontes*, to the befogged frenzy of the nocturnal religious celebration, or vigil (*παινυχίς*), amidst which the episode has occurred. The scenes are as long drawn out and as cluttered with tokens of recognition (*γνωρίσματα*) as in the tragedies of Euripides. The Cairo manuscript luckily offers an excellent example in the *Periceiomene*. Capps so pieces out the badly shattered lines of a part of this scene as to represent Pataecus proving his identity to his daughter Glycera by naming one after the other the trinkets, which, as was customary, had been deposited with her, when as a baby she had been abandoned, just as Ion, in Euripides's drama of that name, challenges his mother to recount the tokens which she had laid with him. But Capp's reconstruction is merely hypothetical, and the only certainty is that the recognition is managed by a series of *γνωρίσματα*. The *Rudens*, however, does present a kind of analogy to the *Ion*. Daemones recognizes his daughter Palaestra through hearing her name the contents of a casket of tokens in order to prove her ownership to the fisherman who has extracted it from the sea. In the *Poenulus*, after a long scene of recognition, the identity is clinched, much as in the *Electra* of Euripides, by a scar. In the *Curculio*, a brother and sister discover each other through two rings, one possessed by each.

There are other isolated instances in which Menander plainly reflects the influence of Euripides. The whole plot of the *Epitrepontes* may very well have been suggested by the lost *Auge*, if the theory of Wilamowitz¹ that the substance of the tragedy is given by the account of Auge in Moses Chorenensis is correct: in both a maiden was violated at a religious festival and at the time tore from her unknown assailant a ring; in both she unjustly suffered for her misfortune; and in both the recognition of the guilty man and the extrication from the difficulty were achieved through a ring. The parallelism passes into actual quotation

¹ *Anal. Eur.*, p. 189. Van Leeuwen, in his edition of Menander, points out the analogy to the *Epitrepontes* (p. 13, n. 4).

when the nurse Sophrona uses in extenuation of the youthful indiscretion the same typically casuistical Euripidean excuse as Heracles in his apology for the rape of Auge :

ἡ φύσις ἐβούλεθ', ἡ νόμων οὐδὲν μέλει.
γυνὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷδ' ἔφν.¹

There is even a more striking parallelism between the arbitration scene of the same comedy and a part of the lost *Alope*, the plot of which is related by Hyginus :² in both a shepherd consigned to a friend an exposed child whom he had found, but without relinquishing the γνωρίσματα ; in both, disputing about the possession of these, with a fine irony, they chance to call as arbitrator the man who is unwittingly the child's maternal grandfather. Another indication that Menander was to a certain extent modelling his *Epitrepontes* upon the *Alope* is the subsequent use, as one of the tokens, of half of the maiden's chiton,³ the factor that plays so important a rôle in the corresponding tragedy. The obsession of the fourth century for Euripides is revealed by the fact that the comic poets can still resort for humor to a parody of passages from his works, although, when the Middle gave place to the New Comedy, the custom of burlesquing a whole tragedy was generally abandoned.

Other details are occasionally transferred from tragedy to comedy, such as, for the sake of arousing suspense, the dream foreshadowing the dénouement.⁴ In the *Rudens*, the father foresees in an enigmatical vision the rescue of his daughter ; a very similar dream is employed for a similar purpose in the *Mercator*.

Irony also is frequently employed in Menander and the poets of the New Comedy. This quality is usually conceived as the ignorance on the part of one or more characters of a fact of which the audience are cognizant ; but Mr. G. G. Sedgewick, in a very convincing dissertation upon the subject to be submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at this University, a part of which I have had the pleasure of reading, champions the theory that the irony, in order to be dramatic, must involve a conflict of wills with circumstances. Some critics think of irony as confined to

¹ *Epitrepontes*, 583-584.

² *Fab.* 187.

³ *V.* 187.

⁴ The purpose of the dream in tragedy I have discussed in my article on the *Dramatic Art of Sophocles*, pp. 118-119.

language, discerning it only when a character uses in one sense words which apply to the unknown fact in another; concrete expression, of course, renders the irony all the more vivid, but there may be an implicit irony in a mere situation. In the scene that gives the *Epitrepontes* its title, Smicrines is ignorant that he is the grandfather of the infant as arbitrator for whose *γυνώρισμα* he is called upon to do service. The irony does not find expression in words, and a conflict may be implied, in that he unwittingly acts against what he conceives as his own advantage, for his decision is a link in the chain that leads to the discovery of the child's real parentage and the consequent reconciliation between husband and wife, with the result that he loses his daughter's dowry, which he is so greedy to reclaim. In Menander's *Adelphi*, as adapted by Terence, there is a wealth of irony in Demea's ascription to Micio's ward of the vices of which his own is guilty; the conflict is obvious, and the irony reaches its climax at the end of the fourth act just before the revelation when Demea bursts into a series of exclamations against the misdeeds of the youth whose character he does not know that he himself has formed. The very essence of the *Captivi*, like that of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* in tragedy, is ironical, since a youth Tyndarus is prisoner and slave in his own father's house in Aetolia, and both are unadvised of the fact. Here the irony often becomes more tangible by passing into language. In the second scene of the second act, Tyndarus, pretending that he is a freeborn Elean, unconsciously declares to his father the reality:

"Tam ego fui ante liber quam gnatus tuos."¹

Again in the third scene of the same act, the father Hegio remarks, not knowing that his son is in his own house:

"Meus mihi, suos quoique carus."²

Or, to mention one more of many possible examples, in the fourth scene of the third act, Tyndarus reiterates that he was not born a slave in Elis, believing that he is simulating what he does not know to be the truth about his birth in Aetolia:

"*Hc.* Fuistin liber? *Tyn.* Fui."³

¹ 310.

² 400.

³ 628.

I have spoken of a possible reminiscence of the parabasis in the prologues of Diphilus; it was inevitable that some relics of the Old Comedy should linger on in the New. The concluding triumphal revels of the successful party in the struggle which is always enshrined in a work of Aristophanes are often repeated in the last act of a New Comedy. At the end of the *Periceirromene*, for instance, a double marriage is gaily celebrated. The rejoicing, however, in accordance with the general low moral tone of later comedy, has frequently a much more ignoble cause than the victory of a political or ethical principle in a play of Aristophanes. If the *Δις ἐξάπατῶν* of Menander is the source of the *Bacchides*, then it will have to be acknowledged that our poet has composed perhaps the most disgraceful conclusion in the whole range of ancient comedy to what was already a thoroughly indecent work: the victory is the acquisition of his mistress by the youth Mnesilochus through tricking his father, and finally the two old men, who have been deceived by their sons, are themselves enticed by the two courtesans into joining the orgy. It is often the triumph of unscrupulous dealings. In the *Persa*, the licentious slave Toxilus celebrates his outwitting of a procurer; in the *Pseudolus*, for an analogous reason, there is at the end a drunken debauch, in which again the father consents to participate.

It is partly to afford an opportunity for a concluding revel that a New Comedy is almost invariably set at the time of a religious or domestic festival. Another reason is the desire for a logical pretext to introduce a chorus, who thus may become participants in the merry-making. Very commonly, the play is set at a Dionysiac or Aphrodisiac celebration, when between the acts a company of devotees, though they have no more intimate connection with the plot, may appear and perform that simple function to which the chorus now in the course of time had been limited, the entertainment of the audience by short interludes of dancing and singing, for which no lines are written in the manuscript; such settings are the last reminiscences of the origin of comedy in the Bacchic comus. At other times, as probably in the *Samia*, throughout the comedy preparation is being made for a marriage, as guests at which a chorus is justified; perhaps in this case, if we follow the principle of Clayton Hamilton¹ in explaining all factors

¹ *The Theory of the Theater*, New York, 1910.

of the drama by the requirements of the contemporary stage, we might say that it is the exigency of a chorus that produces one of the most usual elements in the plot, the wish of a father to bring about a marriage to which the son is opposed. In the *Epitrepontes* the personnel of the chorus is the group invited to the banquet which Charisius in his pique gives for his new mistress, Habrotonon; in the *Periceiomene* it is likewise a party of boon-companions whom Polemon has gathered for a breakfast to forget his sorrows.

Despite the intricacy of plot in the New Comedy, the unity of action is usually observed. Nothing extraneous to the development towards a dénouement is admitted. There are, to be sure, tediously long sententious passages, commonly soliloquies, assigned especially to characters entering upon the stage,¹ but the reflections are at least provoked by the dramatic situation. The unities of time and place are more strictly kept than in Old Comedy or in tragedy. The *Heautontimorumenus* appears to be the only extant work that comprises even two days. The *Captivi* might seem an exception, since in the course of the action there takes place a journey from Aetolia to Elis and back, but the poet, jumping from the frying-pan into the fire, avoids the difficulty by committing the improbability, for which he has been censured by Lessing, of presuming the travel to occupy only a few hours. The problem of the unity of place was simplified in two ways. By common consent, the open place represented on the stage, usually a street or square before two dwellings, was supposed to cover a larger space than it actually did and to include more obstacles to the vision than actually appeared, so that two or more characters could be present simultaneously without discerning one another; and secondly, by convention, conversations that should be held within doors were allowed in the more public thoroughfare, or the vestibule or πρόθυρον was considered as the inside of a house. The restriction of the unity of place, however, was often injurious to dramatic effect in causing many important interior scenes, which ought to be enacted before the

¹ The *Thesaurus* of Philemon, if the *Trinummus* follows it closely, must in this respect have been an appalling bore, and if anything is to be concluded from the number of extracts that he afforded to the anthology of Stobaeus, his work in general must have been overburdened with moralizing.

audience, to be reported, on the precedent of tragedy, by a kind of *ἐξάγγελος*.

As far as the scant material permits judgment, Menander was probably not so guilty of loose construction as is Diphilus in the two Plautine adaptations of the *Rudens* and the *Casina*, both of which break asunder in the middle. In the former, one dilemma, the rescue of the maidens from the leno, is solved in the first three acts; and in the last two, a new motive, the recognition of Palaestra as the daughter of Daemones, to which, to be sure, there has been some slight previous allusion, is introduced and solved. The conclusion to the *Rudens*, moreover, though the blemish perhaps did not mar the original of Diphilus, is unsatisfactory, since the fate of the other girl and her lover is left unexplained. The *Casina* falls into three pieces. By the end of the second act, the shameless dispute between father and son about the possession of the courtesan has been decided in favor of the latter by the casting of lots; but since, in order that the play shall not stop, the old scapegrace has to be represented as persisting in his intentions despite his defeat, in the third act a new scheme is concocted to forestall him, the feigned madness of the woman; and acts four and five move on to another stratagem for the same purpose, the disguise of a slave as the courtesan, who soundly trounces the father's minion. The proper way to treat either of these plots would be to combine the different motives from the beginning and to carry them throughout the comedy. Philemon also handles badly the plot of the *Thesaurus*. The return of Charmides really solves the difficulties that his absence has occasioned in his household and with his friend Callicles; but in order to pad out the play to the traditional size, there is inserted a new complication with a sharper, which is of no assistance in effecting the *dénouement*.

Of the extant works of Menander, the *Samia* alone seems to have something of the defective structure that is a fault of Diphilus. By the end of the second act, where our text ceases, the problem has been virtually solved; the innocence of the heroine, Chrysis, has been established, and both fathers, informed of the intrigue of Moschion and Plangon, are anxious for their marriage. A short final act would have sufficed for rounding off the play, but in order to lengthen it out to the conventional number of five acts, the third introduces a new complication, Moschion's pretence of running away to the wars in order to

punish his father for false suspicions. The Latin imitations, however, contain some offences against structure, though not so heinous as those of Diphilus. In the *Adelphi*, though all motives are carried to the end of the play, the love of Aeschinus for Pamphila is not introduced until the third act. There is pleonasm in the plot of the *Poenulus*, for the successful scheme to rescue Adelphasium from the hands of the procurer has eventually no effect upon the dénouement, which actually occurs by an ἀναγνώρισις. Donatus constantly adverts to Terence's correction of improbabilities in Menander, as at the conclusion of the *Adelphi*, where Micio is married off to the old widow Sostrata, with no objections in the original Greek, but only after remonstrances in the Latin. The scene of the *Cistellaria*¹ in which Lampadiscus lays bare to a strange woman the most intimate secrets of the family shows that other incongruities are not far to seek. Another defect that may be gleaned from the comment of Donatus is Menander's frequent resort to the soliloquy and messenger's speech instead of the more truly dramatic media of dialogue and action. At the end of the third act of the *Eunuchus*, where the story of Chaerea's amorous escapade is revealed through a lively conversation with his friend Antipho, in the original there was merely a soliloquy. If inferior in structure, Diphilus may at least have been superior in movement to Menander, for Ihne² suspects that the reason for Terence's taking the first part of the *Adelphi* from the former's *Synapothnescontes* was that there the music-girl's abduction was represented on the stage, whereas in the latter's *Adelphi* it was merely related.

If, since the papyrus fragments are so mutilated, one may judge from the adaptations of Plautus and Terence, Menander and his contemporaries have not yet completely mastered the division into acts, which has taken the place of the old episodes and syzygies. The acts are likely to be inordinately long or short, not forming perfect entities. The fifth acts are particularly awkward: they are either too long, as in the *Poenulus*, including too much of the dénouement, or they are unnecessary, as in the *Cistellaria*, simply dragging it out.

The psychological motives are subtler in Menander than in his rivals, sometimes, perhaps, even too slight to constitute a logical basis for the

¹ II, 3.

² Quaest. Terent., p. 32.

action. All the complications in the *Periceirromene* rest upon Glyceria's scruples about revealing her brother's identity, lest it should prove detrimental to his career. The *Bacchides*, at the end of the first act, exhibits a very nice bit of motivation, where, with an excellent psychological understanding of human perversity, the youth Pistoclerus is represented as goaded on to love, rather than deterred, by the sage remonstrances of his mentor. Much of the motivation in the *Andria* is so refined as to be unconvincing. Pamphilus, though in the bonds of the courtesan, Glycerium, is being forced into a marriage, which, however, Chremes, the bride's father, on learning of the liaison, rejects. The subtlety begins when Simo, the father of Pamphilus, in order to test the condition of his son's heart, pretends that the day is set for the nuptials. It becomes deeper when Davus, the youth's slave, thinking that in any event Chremes will persist in his refusal, persuades his charge, for the sake of forestalling any suspicions of a connection with Glycerium, to simulate acquiescence in the marriage that Simo desires. The very abyss of subtlety is reached when Simo, now thoroughly deluded into a belief in his son's innocence, denies credence to the tale that the infant of which Glycerium is delivered is his grandchild and is confirmed in his denial by the prevarication of Davus, until he conceives the whole matter a plot on the courtesan's part to hold Pamphilus within her toils and avert the marriage. All the development here is mental, depending upon the most delicate varying psychological attitudes, which, in Menander, took the place of the simpler, ruder motives and more boisterous action in the other poets, and together with his refusal to appeal to the crowd through farce, militated against his popularity. He could have been properly valued only by the highly cultured among his audience; his fame was largely posthumous, because there was always in his works something of the closet-drama, which was better appreciated by later men of letters in the careful persual of the study.

III. Characterization

The delineation of character in Menander and his compeers can be understood only when brought into relation with their cultural environment. The tragic poets of the fifth century had exhausted what to the Greeks was the romantic sphere, mythology. Jaded with

such production, the source of which had been drained dry, the Athenian public now turned naturally to actual life and to an examination of the types of human beings that they encountered in their regular routine. Just as in the sixteenth century the burlesques of Folengo in Italy and of Cervantes in Spain rang the knell of the chivalric material, so the marked increase of mythological travesty in the Middle Comedy demonstrates that any serious interest in the gods and demi-gods as affording dramatic subjects is dead. Romanticism and idealism give way to realism and rationalism. Tragedy, the substance of which is idealistic, had held the field in the preceding century, but even here a change is discernible in the last of the great triad, Euripides; now comedy has the cry, not, however, Aristophanic comedy with rollicking play of fantasy and the grotesque, with many allegorical or supernatural figures, but comedy the substance of which is realistic and drawn from ordinary existence.

Another force, besides realism, made for this study of character. The individualism that enters Hellenic life with full force in the Periclean age is now in the fourth century much increased, and reflected in all spheres of activity. The works of Praxiteles reveal more than those of Phidias the study of a specific model; the poets of the New Comedy interest themselves in personality more than Aristophanes. In tragedy, psychological analysis had reached its apogee with Sophocles; but it does not attain any decided proportions in comedy, which from the first had lagged behind and followed the lead of tragedy, until the fourth century. Greek individualism, however, stops at a certain point and does not go beyond the study of types. The whole tendency of Greek art is to generalize, to study the beauty of different parts of the body in many models and then to fuse them together into one ideal form. Praxiteles represents more of the individual than his predecessors, but he does not, like the sculptors of the Renaissance, study the specific member of a class. His Satyr stands for the class of which Michelangelo's Bacchus is a single member; his Hermes is the type of the noble youth, the David of Michelangelo is almost a portrait. Likewise the comic poet evolves the crafty slave, but creates no such crafty individual, with peculiar traits of his own, as Shakspeare's Iago. We get in the *Aulularia* the typical miser, but nowhere so highly diverting and eccentric a member of the class as Boffin in Dickens's *Mutual*

Friend. There appear many generalized courtesans, but there is no such study of particular and varied specimens as one finds in the sensitive temperament of a Camille, the passionate jealousy of a Zaza, or the morbid eroticism of Daudet's Sappho. It was the ordinary, not the extraordinary in nature, to which the poets of the New Comedy wished to hold up the mirror. The types represented, moreover, are confined within a rather narrow circle, and there is no excursus into the unexplored field of characters such as the languid Jacques of *As You Like It* or the sentimental Duke of *Twelfth Night*, who do not conform to any of the established classes.

Rarely the type, in the modern manner, is somewhat individualized. The young hero of the *Miles Gloriosus* has an only too uncommon consideration for the old man who aids him in his amour. Plautus, in the *Persa*, sketches with manifest delight the playful and *spirituel* nature of the slave-boy, Paegnium. The benevolent elderly sister in the possibly Menandrian *Aulularia* strikes a new note. For it is Menander who appears especially to have excelled in this individualization.¹ Polemon in the *Periceirromene* is not the usual braggart soldier, but has the simple and honest heart, which with us is the traditional connotation of the uniform.² Moschion in the *Samia* is not a colorless youth, but has a most ticklish sense of honor and a romantic desire to teach his father a lesson by absconding and making his own way in foreign wars. Most interesting in this respect is his delineation of courtesans. Menander does not make them the utterly neutral machines or the astute and unscrupulous schemers that they so often appear in the New Comedy, but, perhaps with the example before him of his own Glycera, whose faithfulness Alciphron so charmingly depicts,³ he is lenient toward the class, bestowing upon them graces of character and kindnesses of heart that

¹ Capps, however, in his introductions to the several plays seems to me often to read too much individuality into Menander's characters; the interpretation of the personality of Onesimus in the *Epitrepontes* (pp. 27-28), for instance, is especially farfetched and not justified by the extant text.

² The adjective *σοβαρός*, which is the Greek equivalent of the Latin *gloriosus*, is, to be sure, applied to him (52); but it is not used here in the sense of *braggart* but rather of *violent*, in relation to the jealous fit in which he has cut off Glycera's hair. Nor is this violence a usual trait of his, for Misapprehension in the prologue expressly declares that he is not such by nature (44-45).

³ 4, 19, 5.

he denies to their more respectable sisters. *Mutatis mutandis* he may be considered the same kind of apologist for the demi-monde as Dumas with his *Camille* or as so many of the ultra-moderns, who, with the general tendency of this extravagant age, have taken a hyperbolic view of the question and carried their rehabilitations to absurd extremes. An eminent instance is the attractive figure of Habrotonon in the *Epitrepontes*, coerced into a life of impurity from which she seeks release, imbued with a truly maternal love for a baby not her own, assuming the sin of another woman, whom naturally she might have hated as a rival, in order to benefit her and to discover the infant's parentage, and yet endowed with the wit and liveliness of her profession. Another example is Thais of Terence's *Eunuchus*, though it is hard to determine to which of the two Menandrian plots that coalesce in this play she belongs. Reflecting, it may be, traits of her namesake, another of Menander's flames, despite her love for Phaedria she wishes to sacrifice herself for three days to the captain Thraso, whom she despises, in order, as remuneration, to get possession of the young Pamphila, who she has learned is really of free parentage. One thinks also of those Hetaerae, who possibly have some ground for their nobler conduct in their better birth, of which they themselves, however, are ignorant: Silenium of the *Cistellaria*, forced into her position, like Habrotonon, but restricting herself to one admirer, whose feelings, even though she believes him untrue, she hesitates at wounding, Adelphasium of the *Poenulus*, graced with modesty in the midst of her degradation and voicing a certain ethic to be observed even in the practice of her trade:¹

"I find no envy, sister, in my frame,
And a good disposition far prefer
To gold: for gold's the gift of fortune: goodness
Of disposition, is the gift of nature.
Rather than wealth, may I be bless'd with virtue.
O, modesty becomes us more than scarlet;
And is a brighter ornament than gold.
Bad manners soil the finest dress, e'en worse
Than dirt; but virtuous ones, do by their deeds,
Brighten the foulest."

¹ I, 3, Thornton's translation.

IV. The Dialogue

The distinction of the New Comedy was its brilliant dialogue, and it was here that Menander excelled. The language is admirably adapted to the character of the speakers. When they are boors, the lines are crammed with colloquialisms, with explanations loosely thrown in at random, with the natural tautology of the uneducated, as in the arbitration scene of the *Epitrepontes*, where the vulgarity of diction is all the more striking because placed in the setting of attempts at pompous legal pleas. Yet this vulgarity is only comparative. In the fourth century, when for the past hundred years the study of rhetoric had been at work eliminating all uncouthness, some degree of urbanity marked even the rudest conversations; and in Menander's dialogues between persons of higher social position, the sentences are as nicely constructed and as delicately turned as in the most exquisite French. Smicrines, the arbitrator, also speaks with terse, sharp ejaculations that harmonize exactly with his sullen temperament. The recovery of this play demonstrates that Menander was especially skilled in mimicking oratory, when he found it necessary to suit such a style to his interlocutors. In the famous debate about the trinkets, like a clever advocate, he is able to assume the standpoint of either party and to argue speciously on each side. Another good instance of the persuasiveness of his arguments is afforded by a fragment of the *Dyscolus*, in which a son pleads with his niggardly father for a proper use of wealth.¹ Quintilian praises Menander expressly for his oratorical ability,² a trait which in the halcyon days of Hellenic eloquence it was natural should be transplanted to New Comedy, particularly when this genre was so vitally influenced by the rhetorical Euripides.

The same scene in the *Epitrepontes*, to the many excellencies of which I have often had occasion to refer, reveals Menander as a past master of dramatic repetition. Davus ejaculates again and again the phrases, *δεινὴ γ' ἡ κρίσις, ἃ πέπονθα, τί γὰρ μετεδίδουν*; and each time, as the case goes more and more against him, with renewed significance and increased comic effect. In another famous scene of litigation, written by a greater poet than Menander, there is a consummate but closely analogous use of the same device in the reiterations: "A Daniel come to

¹ Kock, 128.

² 10, 1, 69.

judgment, a second Daniel, O wise judge, O noble judge, O upright judge, O learned judge, etc." Even though no new meaning accrues, a line which is in itself comic may acquire additional force by discreet repetition. So Smicrines twice falls into the mock-legal formula :

(Σμ.) ἐδέου, Σύρισκ'; (Σν.) ἔγωγε¹
 (Σμ.) ἐπόεις ταῦτ'; (Σν.) ἐπόουν²

But Syrisus finally turns the tables on him by beginning himself :

(Σν.) εἶρηκεν; (Σμ.) οὐκ ἤκουσας; εἶρηκεν.³

Menander realized, furthermore, that the language of drama, since it is written rather to be heard than read, must make its points on the spur of the moment, and therefore must be livelier than ordinary prose or verse. Although, perhaps, he indulges too much in monologues,⁴ when he does employ dialogue, it is of the most spirited nature. A brilliant example is the scene with which the *Hero* opens. Aulus Gellius compares the admirable vividness of the slave's outcries at his young mistress's disgrace in the *Plocion* to the sluggishness of Caecilius's Latin adaptation : "He is variously agitated by fear, anger, suspicion, pity, and sorrow. All these emotions and passions of his mind are in the Greek painted with extreme and perspicuous acuteness. But in Caecilius these are very dull, and destitute of all dignity and grace."⁵ But to achieve an instantaneous impression, the dialogue must not only be bright in coloring, it must sparkle; and thus it is that so large a part of dramatic criticism directs its attention to the presence or absence of wit. Croiset catalogues a number of typically scintillating passages.⁶ To these I add two or three in which Menander is clever in imbuing with freshness the tritest themes. The *Arrephorus* must have been distinguished by this virtue : in one excerpt he designates matrimony as a perilous sea in which, not three out of thirty, but all ships are lost;⁷ in another he describes the loquacious Myrtille as more resonant than the brass of Dodona, which tintillates at a single touch all day, because she does not cease even at night.⁸ His wit was his inalienable possession from the very first, for in the comedy with which he began his theatrical career, the *Orge*, he

¹ 53.

² 57.

³ 76.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 138.

⁵ 2, 23, 15, Beloe's translation.

⁶ *Hist. de la Litt. grec.*, vol. III, pp. 626-628.

⁷ Kock, 65.

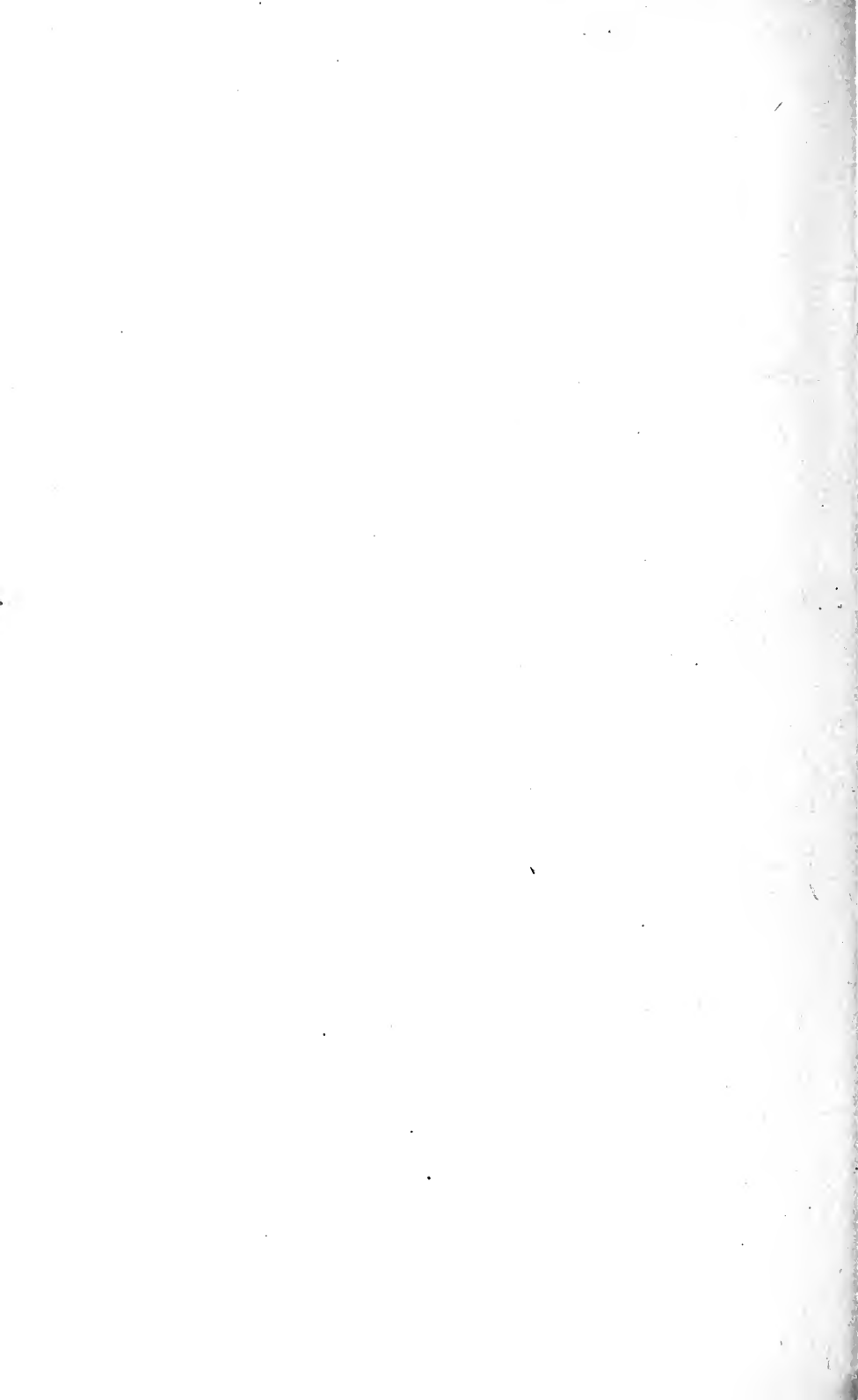
⁸ Kock, 66.

enlivened the commonplace of the parasite's rapacity by representing him, in his anxiety to get to the feast betimes, as arising in the night and calculating the hour by the moon's shadow on the dial.¹

All this liveliness and sparkle, nevertheless, would have gone for little, if any obscurity or roughness of style had prevented a ready comprehension on the part of the audience. Plutarch, in the essay in which he contrasts Menander's culture with what he conceives as the rudeness of Aristophanes, discussing the delight that the former gives not only in the theater but also for leisurely reading and for recitation at symposiums, avers that he achieved everything "with especial grace" (*μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα*), having in mind, doubtless, the lack of effort and easy flow of Menander's verses.² And so we have come to the real secret of his high reputation in antiquity. The discovery of the papyrus fragments has not, as was expected, decreased our esteem of the Roman imitators in regard to plot and invention; but rather it has confirmed us in our estimate of what indeed we might already have surmised from the passages quoted by ancient writers to be the essence of his genius. Menander's refined nature did, to be sure, disdain the farcical appeal of some of his contemporaries, his motivation rests upon subtler psychological analysis, and his characters have more personality than the puppets that walk the boards in much of the New Comedy; but his true superiority rests upon the more cultured form of wit that the French designate as *esprit*, upon elegance, facility, and sprightliness of language. Preëminently a Greek, he excels in those very qualities which always lend charm to the most insignificant literary products of Hellas, which were always less possible to the heavier Roman mind and the more cumbrous Latin tongue, and especially, despite the more advanced stylistic art of Terence, to that mind and that tongue in their as yet inchoate condition of the second century before Christ.

¹ Kock, 364.

² *Aristoph. et Menandri Comparatio*, 3 A.



CICERO'S JUDGMENT ON LUCRETIVS

BY HENRY WHEATLAND LITCHFIELD

THE Consular was in a hurry. His densest caller had seen that. But the hand that rummaged through the crowded *pluteus* failed to produce the missing formulary ; in its stead, the file revealed a page of Egyptian papyrus, inscribed in a high, square, unmistakable character. There were not many lines upon the paper :

*Unde abeunt minuunt, quo venere augmine donant,
nec remorantur ibi; sic rerum summa novatur
semper, et inter se mortales mutua vivunt.
Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.*

The Consular leaned back in his great chair. His look clouded. What a bright, high-spirited young fellow it had been ! how frank and devoted, how good-naturedly impatient of a city's restraints ! — all this, until the sad, utter change, that change which the Consular had never really understood ; life had been for him since but a recurrence of the one wild, exalted, unearthly mood, triumphing over every material barrier, and hurrying him away to fastnesses of the forests or the unutterable hills ; moods, whose lightest speech was prophecy, interspersed with an apathy and despondence cruel to look upon. Every one had been glad it was over ; but how little they dreamed what treasure of golden words he was leaving them ! The Consular was glad to have borne his part in the ordering of it. How many moments he recalled of pleasant conversation with the boy ! Perhaps they had had some share in helping to the great Poem ! He would go back to them with satisfaction, many times, in the years that remained.

But today he was busy. Gradually there came again into his look the half impatience of one vainly seeking to put off some bit of social duty, trifling but importunate. Perhaps he thought of the Tyrian commissioners down in the new-old Basilica, conning Lucius Paulus's masonry, not patiently waiting his good offices with the Consul Domitius. Or was it a client's appointment, to be met at the fifth hour without fail, by the bathing-pool in Lentulus's gardens, far out on the Flaminia ?

Perhaps he was eager to get back to the half-finished brief. And there was no news, or next to nothing. And always there it lay, refusing to be smothered under the heaped ledgers and parchments, accusation welling up in every one of the deep, clean-drawn incisions—Quintus's last letter, full of the simple living and smoke and tiresomeness of the hill towns; pleading, rallying, commanding, with generous infusions of a certain brotherly kind of Billingsgate, which the older man understood well enough; and all to the one purpose: why had he not written? what was Rome doing? The appeal was strong with the strength of a great affection. Cicero was not the man to resist it. He caught up the tablets and wrote:—

"Marcus to Quintus my brother, greeting.

"These lines are sent in deference to the strong language of your late note; as for the matter in hand, or the events of the day of your leaving, there's little enough to write. But I remember chatting together we seldom run out of topics: perhaps our letters also may be excused for rambling once in a while.

"So here you are: [*item*] Tenedos has had its independence lopped off with a Tenedos hatchet; the sole protests came from Bibulus, Calpurnius, Favonius, and myself. [*item*] Magnesia by Sipylos has given you honorable mention, declaring you were the only one who opposed the demands made upon the city by Lucius Pansa. [*item*] For the days that are still left, if there's anything you ought to know, or what's more, if there isn't anything, still I'll write you something every single day. [*item*] I'll make sure to stand by you and Atticus the fourteenth. [*item*] Lucretius' poem,¹ as you write, shows many flashes of inspiration, yet nevertheless much art. But till you come . . . [*item*] Read me Sallust on Empedocles by then, and I'll class you a man indeed; a human being never.

"Rome, February, year of Rome 700."²

Lucreti poemata ut scribis ita sunt multis luminibus ingeni multae tamen artis: sed cum veneris . . . — and these five hundred years³ the

¹ Lucretius' death had occurred a few months previous, October 15, B. C. 55.

² *Ad Q. Fr.*, 2, 9 (11).

³ A MS. of the letters to Quintus was discovered at Verona by Petrarch in 1345. Both this MS. and Petrarch's copy have disappeared. A copy of some Veronese MS.

world has wondered what he meant. For a strange destiny had ordered that in the one brief, off-hand sentence should be comprehended all that future ages, however curious, were to know, save by merest inference, of the regard in which the first of contemporary poets was held by the greatest of all Rome's men of letters, his own literary executor. Critical comment has pages for Cicero's syllables: one may well hesitate to add to the mass of it. If another lance is ventured in lists already over crowded, it is with the hope of suggesting an answer to the riddle not hitherto, so far as I am aware, put forward, and — it seems to me — in our present state of information with regard to Lucretius' life, inevitable.

How shall we construe the phrase *multae tamen artis*? — we should have expected *quoque, etiam*, or the like, rather than *tamen*: "Lucretius' poem displays much inspiration, but *also* much technique"; why then "much inspiration, yet nevertheless much technique"? The MS. reading is that which I have given; so far as we know, it does not necessarily represent a very old tradition;¹ it gave formerly great offence to

was made about 1391 by Pasquino de Capellis for Coluccio Salutato: this is now Mediceus 49, 18 (M). The *editio princeps*, Rome, 1470, gave in our passage: *Lucreti poemata ut scribis lita sunt multis . . .* Victorius, Venice (Junta), 1536, *ut scribis non ita sunt . . .* See *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*, by R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, vol. I³, 1904, pp. 101 ff., and E. G. Sihler, *Lucretius and Cicero*, in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 1897 (XXVIII), p. 43.

¹ On the history of the principal source of the text, see above, p. 148, n. 3. Syntactical doubts of its correctness, based on the abrupt shift from ablative to genitive of description, in itself not without parallel, must vanish, I think, on examination of the facts of usage, thus formulated by Roby, *A Grammar of the Latin Language*, 1874, II, p. 127, § 1309: "The genitive . . . is used rather of the sort and quality; the ablative of the special characteristics and condition. Thus the genitive (and not the ablative) is used of specific measurements of what a thing or person requires, and of the class to which it belongs. The ablative, and not the genitive, is used of the characteristic parts of a thing or person (especially of the bodily parts), and of its temporary state. Both, though in Cicero chiefly the ablative, are used of mental qualities." Cp. Allen and Greenough, *New Latin Grammar*, 1903, p. 213, § 345, note: ". . . In expressions of quality, the genitive or the ablative may be used indifferently. . . . In classic prose, however, the genitive of quality is much less common than the ablative; it is practically confined to expressions of measure or number, to a phrase with *eius*, and to nouns modified by *magnus*, *maximus*, *summus*, or *tantus*. In general the Genitive is used rather of *essential*, the Ablative of *special or incidental*

scholars; almost everyone "emended" in some way or other — *tamen* was changed to *etiam*, or *non* inserted out of whole cloth, sometimes before *multis*, oftener before *multae*. For upwards of half a century the school of emendators has been steadily losing ground; editors of Cicero and of Lucretius turn their efforts more and more towards explaining the words as they stand in the MS.; so that those scholars who still doubt the text, today find themselves members of a distinguished minority.

That attempts to reinforce or supplement the defence (by Munro,¹ Tyrrell,² and others) of the MS. reading continue to be in order, is shown, as Professor Hendrickson remarks,³ by the persistent scepticism of such critics as Professors F. Marx⁴ and Saintsbury;⁵ but their attitude does not, I think, make imperative, as a preliminary to discussion, the barren and almost hopeless task of collecting and classifying the series of remedies prescribed by successive editors, from the *princeps* to van Leeuwen, who believed emendation inevitable. The text as it stands, it seems clear to me, admits of more than one perfectly reasonable explanation. An impartial reader of the commentaries on the passage must, I think, come to the conclusion that several interpretations of the MS. reading have been offered, any one of them entirely adequate — provided always we grant the commentator in each case a certain quite possible antecedent condition. The difficulty I find, comes in determining which of these suggested conditions actually pre-existed and therefore can have motived the criticism.

characteristics." Considerations of euphony as well ruled out a genitive *luminum*; these satisfied, Cicero reverts to the natural genitive of essential characteristic.

On the punctuation of the passage — a question which does not materially affect the interpretation of *tamen* — see Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, vol. II², 1906, p. 125, *ad loc.*, and an interesting suggestion by Professor Phillimore, in *The Classical Review*, 1913 (XXVII), pp. 21 f.

¹ *Introd. to Notes* II², 1866, pp. 328 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, vol. II², 1906, p. 125, *ad loc.*

³ *Cicero's Judgment of Lucretius*, in *American Journal of Philology*, 1901 (XXII), p. 438.

⁴ *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1899 (III), p. 536 with n. 1.

⁵ *A History of Criticism*, 1900, vol. I, pp. 214 ff. Professor Saintsbury overlooks what is at least an altogether natural interpretation of *sed cum veneris*, and finds fault with Cicero for not saying more; reads *non multis*, and damns him as a literary critic for denying brilliancy of genius to Lucretius!

It is my purpose in this paper briefly to review proposed interpretations of the text, so far as they have come to my notice, and to mention in passing the condition on which each seems to me to depend for its validity. So far as I am able to see, all except one¹ are based on an uncertainty. In conclusion, I wish to suggest another interpretation which depends on a condition the reality of which is attested. I do not hope to convince any reader that this last explanation is necessarily the right one; but in our present darkness it has, I believe, at least a better chance than the others.

Interpretations which proceed on the assumption that the MS. reading is right, fall apparently into three main classes, according to their understanding of the nature and component parts of the opposition which *tamen* is intended to enforce. The common view is, of course, that *tamen* contrasts *ingeni* with *artis*: this I will take up presently.

I Another view, defended by several scholars² and best set forth by Professor Hendrickson,³ regards *tamen* as corrective of *ita*: Cicero agrees with Quintus (*ut scribis ita sunt*) in so far as to concede to Lucretius *ingenium* (inspiration); he differs from Quintus in ascribing to him *ars* (technique) as well. The whole idea is something as follows: "you are right in recognizing the inspiration of Lucretius' poem — still you should give him credit for considerable technique." Professor Hendrickson suggests in support of his construction the likelihood that Cicero would not be content with repeating inately his brother's criticism. But when we think of the nature of the letter in which Cicero's pronouncement appears — rapidly written, full of disconnected jottings⁴ — does it not seem perfectly natural that in such a filler, he may merely have summed up a longer discussion transmitted to him by Quintus?

This theory is a good illustration of what I mean by an explanation depending for its validity on a uncertain condition: if we had Quintus's letter with its criticism of Lucretius,⁵ or indeed

¹ See below, p. 156.

² See Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, I, 2³, 1909, p. 42.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 438 f.

⁴ On this aspect of the letter, cp. Sihler, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 f.

⁵ This perhaps perished to make room for the reply: cp. *Ad Q. Fr.* 2, 9 (11), 1, *codicilli*, and Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, vol. II², 1906, p. 124, *ad loc.*

any independent evidence showing that Quintus denied *ars* (technique) to him, we should then be certain that *multae tamen artis* was a corrective of this judgment, expressing Marcus's own personal opinion as distinguished from his brother's—but we have not! The denial that Lucretius possessed technique is purely a matter of hypothesis; hence this attempt to explain the MS. reading rests on an "uncertain condition"—a rather unlikely one, perhaps, if we have any feeling for Quintus Cicero's reputation as a critic.

- II By Polle¹ the passage is thus turned: "*als prorsus ingeniosum könne er das gedicht nicht bezeichnen, müsse aber zugeben, dass viele lumina ingenii darin seien; die kunst aber sei aller ehren werth.*" That is, he would make *tamen* enforce an opposition between *lumina* and *multae artis*—scarcely possible, it would seem to me, much less probable: surely in that case, had Cicero chosen to put stronger emphasis on any part of the phrase other than *artis*, he would have said *merae tamen artis*, or the like, rather than *multae*? clearly, it is an unnatural way of expressing such a thought.

- III To return to the usual view of *tamen*—it was put forward much earlier than those just discussed—the view, namely, which makes *tamen* enforce a relation of some kind between *ingeni* and *artis*: it is generally conceded that *tamen* may not be taken as merely equivalent to *etiam* or *quoque*; that when *tamen* conveys the meaning *also*, it conveys the further meaning "*but also*"—that is, an opposition greater or less is in each case implied; there is some ellipsis or abridgement in the expression which motives and justifies *but*.² As to the nature of the opposition in this instance, between *ingeni* and *artis*, the theories are briefly as follows, with the "uncertain conditions" on which they seem to me severally to depend.

¹ *Philologus*, 1867 (XXV), pp. 501 f.

² On *tamen* used in reference to an unexpressed thought, see Polle, *op. cit.*, p. 502; W. Y. Sellar, *The Roman Poets of the Republic*, 1889³, p. 286, n. 1; Harder, *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, 1890 (VII), col. 46; Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, vol. I³, 1904, p. 400 n.; W. A. Merrill, *T. Lucreti Cari de Rerum Natura Libri Sex*, 1907, p. 18, n. 8; and the authorities cited by these writers.

- III₁ First, *tamen* may be the equivalent of "yet [though this is not so immediately evident]" — "Lucretius' poem, as you write, is characterized by many flashes of inspiration, yet (though this is not so immediately evident) by much technique as well."¹ Quintus must then have expressed the opinion that Lucretius' poem had plenty of technique, but that this was not apparent. Here again, clearly, we have an uncertain condition: I leave open the question whether or not it is probable.
- III₂ Again, we may always presume that Cicero had in mind some such idea as this: "Lucretius' poetic inspiration was as generous a gift as any man might expect from Nature; yet she did not stop with that, she added the ability and the will which fitted him to acquire technique." This frame of mind is perhaps not quite what we should expect from Cicero; but in any case, one would hardly rest content with an explanation which requires so much to be understood, unless he were sure no simple and inevitable underlying thought could be discovered.
- III₃ Open to similar objection is the version of Eduard Norden:² "bei Lukrez ist es das Grosse, dass die Lichter seines Genies so zahlreich sind und er dabei doch sich in der Grenzen strenger Kunstübung hält, φύσις und ἀσκησις verbindet." Norden cites the elder Seneca's pronouncement³ on the declaimer Porcius Latro: *memoria ei natura quidem felix, plurimum tamen arte adiuta* — but in Cicero's comment we find no *quidem*; perhaps, too, one would more naturally expect artistic technique from a poet than a science of mnemonics from the *declamator*.
- III₄ Another such construction is that of Plessis,⁴ who takes *multae tamen artis* to mean "and yet, although *ingenium* does not necessarily involve *ars*, the poem has it." But this is mere per-

¹ Sellar, *op. cit.*, 1881², pp. 279 f. The third edition, 1889, omits altogether this passage, and quotes Tyrrell *ad loc.*

² *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 1898, p. 182, n. 1.

³ *Contr.* I, *praef.* 17.

⁴ F. Plessis, *La Poésie latine*, 1909, p. 123, esp. n. 3.

version of *tamen*? Pichon comments:¹ "M. Plessis a essayé de justifier ce texte, en disant que *tamen* s'explique parce que le génie n'entraîne pas forcément l'art. Soit, mais il ne l'exclut pas non plus!"

III5 Lastly, the idea may be something as follows: "Lucretius' poem is characterized by many *lumina ingeni*, yet [this is not all, though you might expect it would have been; it is characterized] by much *ars*" — and at once the question arises, why should anybody, or rather why should Cicero or Quintus expect the one must naturally be unaccompanied by the other?

III5a Some scholars reply: Cicero may have thought of *ingenium* (inspiration) and *ars* (technique) as mutually independent, not to say incompatible.² To what extent, one naturally asks, does this attitude of mind appear in his other writings, or in those of other Romans of his day? Was it a concept borrowed from the Greeks, Alexandrine or classical, and if so, what is its history among them? These questions I must leave to more competent students of the history of criticism. To Professor Smyth I owe an interesting suggestion to the effect that, except in cases of special pleading, the Greek of the classical period may have tended rather to identify than to separate genius and art — for him *φύσις* and *τέχνη* imply each the other. If this is true, we shall naturally look elsewhere than in the classical period of Greece for the motive of such an attitude on Cicero's part. Certainly the Alexandrines were familiar with a distinction between *φύσις* and *τέχνη*;³ to what extent did they make it an opposition? It was of an Alexandrine poet that Ovid wrote:⁴ *quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet* — where *quamvis* rather implies that Ovid would have expected to find the two qualities united.

¹ *Les Travaux Récents sur la Biographie de Lucrèce*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1910 (VIII), p. 81, n. 1.

² Cp. Braun, quoted by Polle, *op. cit.*, *Philologus*, 1867 (XXV), p. 502; Munro, *op. cit.*, introd. to Notes II², 1866, pp. 328 ff.; Tyrrell, *op. cit.*, vol. II², 1906, p. 125, *ad loc.*; and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ Cp. Munro and Merrill, *ll. cc.*

⁴ *Am.* I, 15, 14.

Here, then, the uncertainty comes on the questions: what degree of authority had Alexandrine opposition of *ars* and *ingenium* gained at Rome by the middle of the first century; what weight did Cicero or Quintus, or both of them, incline to give to it; and whether or not it had perhaps been matter of discussion between them.¹

III5*b* Another reason why the Ciceros would not expect technique from Lucretius is sought by some scholars² in the known fact that Cicero admired Ennius and the earlier Latins, while despising heartily the later school: and they suppose that he identified Ennius and the rest with *ingenium* (inspiration), the *cantores Euphorionis*,³ disciples of Alexandria, with *ars* (technique). Cicero, they argue, would think of Lucretius as an Ennian, one of the early school of Latin poets, and accordingly, would not expect to find technique in his work. All the latter part of this reasoning seems to be based on pure theory.

III5*cd* I pass over thus hurriedly these suggestions as to why the Ciceros would not expect to find *ars* in Lucretius, because two other suggestions which I wish to take up in closing seem to presume an attitude of mind on their part so much more natural and inevitable as to leave little or no room for any such thought as this about a theoretical opposition between φύσις and τέχνη. In the multitude of alternative possibilities, we have to look, it would seem to me, for some attested detail with regard to Lucretius' life and production so marked, some characteristic so striking, as to influence strongly, if not altogether to control, the mind of the critic who contemplated his work: if that characteristic is so striking that it must certainly have been a powerful influence on the critic's mind, any interpretation which it motives becomes thereby the strongest of our probabilities; in proportion as it approaches the status of a paramount consideration, just so closely does the interpretation which hinges on it approach certainty.

¹ Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

² Cp. Munro, Tyrrell, and Merrill, *ll. cc.*

³ *Tusc.* 3, 45; cp. *Ov. Am.* 1, 15, 19.

c One such certain characteristic is taken up by Reitzenstein in *Drei Vermuthungen*, interpreting *ars* as the equivalent, not of τέχνη, but of τεχνολογία: "den *lumina ingenii*, den glänzenden poetischen Einlagen, stehen die vielen rein technischen Partien entgegen, welche nur der *ars*, dem System, dem Lehrbuch angehören."¹ This explanation seems to me to have a better basis of probability than any other of the proposed renderings. It does not, to be sure, make Cicero out a very subtle critic; but its condition is the undoubted fact that the reader of Lucretius certainly would not expect to find so much pure science combined with sustained passages of such splendid poetry. This is a thought which would naturally occur to a reader of the poem — what is more, it is almost sure to be the paramount thought² of one who approaches the poem *without knowing much about the poet himself*. But the Ciceros certainly had such knowledge.

d With them, I feel sure, another thought would have taken precedence: do we not find the missing cue so plain in sight that it is almost instinctively passed over? "... amatorio poculo," says St Jerome,³ "in furorem versus, cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniae conscribisset, quos postea Cicero emendavit, propria se manu interfecit..." Cicero and Quintus, that is, had had in their hands the composition of a *male sanus* written in his lucid intervals; they found in it *lumina ingeni*, the excellence characteristic of an unbalanced intellect, yet still the result of persistent application, artistic technique — a cosmogony, a refutation *ex concessis*, an atomic system, done, in Professor Saintsbury's phrase, as another might do an Odyssey or a story of Lancelot — and they naturally felt, and expressed, some surprise.⁴ The letter and the chronicle are, it would seem

¹ R. Reitzenstein, *Drei Vermuthungen zur Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, Marburg, 1894, p. 55.

² One may verify this by going back to his own first impressions on reading the *De Rerum Natura*.

³ *Chronicon Eusebii*, under the year 1923 (1922) = B.C. 94 (95), Schöne 2, p. 133.

⁴ The translation, according to this view, would be substantially that proposed by Norden; see above, p. 153.

to me, exactly complementary; each illustrates and confirms the other. What, we may ask ourselves, would be the natural comment on work prosecuted under such a tremendous disadvantage? — would it not be that while, as might have been expected, it shows *lumina ingeni* ("flashes" of genius?¹), yet it shows nevertheless — and to a surprising degree — artistic technique? or quite in the words of Professor Merrill, from another context: "... it is hard to believe that a mind strong enough to conceive and work out a poem of such worth, could have suffered from intermittent insanity. . . ."² Conversely, what other inference would naturally be drawn with regard to the mental state of a poet with whom inspiration is a matter of course, technique a surprise, than that he suffered from some malady or inertia which tended to disqualify him for the production of consistent and finished literary work?

This is not the place to attempt an exhaustive discussion of the doubts which have been raised with regard to the credibility of Jerome's assertion of Lucretius' insanity. They would seem to me to be characteristic rather of the spirit which inclines to deduce *a priori* the non-occurrence of a given event from the fact of its mention by an ancient authority. The few nearly contemporary *testimonia* which can have any bearing on the question³ are unanimous in suggesting, if they do not confirm, the traditional account. Of important arguments against it, two only have come to my notice.

In his discussion of Lactantius' estimate of Lucretius,⁴ Brandt urges with great skill the *argumentum ex silentio*; which in this case, as Pichon justly notes,⁵ seems to have more force than such arguments usually have. Any reader of Lactantius must see that his frequent characterization of Lucretius' tenets as *deliramenta* has no reference to

¹ Cp. Tyrrell, *Latin Poetry*, 1895, p. 74.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

³ E. g., Statius' *docti furor arduus Lucreti*, *Silv.* 2, 7, 77.

⁴ *Lactantius und Lucretius*, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, 1891 (CXLIII), pp. 246 ff.; cp. Brieger in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 1896 (LXXXIX), pp. 195 ff., and 1900 (CV), p. 49.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, *Journal des Savants*, 1910 (VIII), p. 72; cp. Brieger, *op. cit.*, *Jahresbericht*, 1900 (CV), p. 49.

the tradition of his actual insanity; the same phrase is used again and again of almost any other thinker whose views chance to be out of harmony with Lactantius' own.¹

In the most striking of his apparent allusions to the tradition — "quis hunc [*sc. Lucretium*] putet habuisse cerebrum, cum haec diceret nec videret sibi esse contraria?"² — we might believe the emphasis to be on *putet*: "who would not guess anyway, without Suetonius' express testimony, that this poet was mad?" But *cum* must here be temporal: is there an allusion to the tradition of intermittent insanity?

Perhaps a hint at this aspect of the tradition appears in a passage³ not cited (I believe) by Brandt: ". . . merito igitur, cum haec a viris non imperitis nec rudibus fiant, Lucretius exclamat 'o stultas hominum mentes . . . ' — quis haec ludibria non rideat qui habeat aliquid sanitatis, cum videat homines velut mente captos ea serio facere quae si quis faciat in lusum, nimis lascivus et ineptus esse videatur?"

Doubtless, however, it is mere chance coincidence, naturally to be expected, that a few among the many slurs on Lucretius should admit such constructions.⁴ But in the last analysis, it seems to me, Lactantius' ignorance of the circumstance of Lucretius' insanity, or his silence — remarkable as it is — if he knew, may be due to any one of a multitude of reasons; too many, in fact, to allow negative reasoning from these premises anything like decisive weight.⁵

The stock objection to the notice in the chronicle may be more briefly, if not more conclusively, dismissed. Its advocates find hard to believe the statement that a poem of such worth as the *De Rerum Natura* is the product of a mind suffering from intermittent insanity. All this amounts scarcely to a presumption. The force of the argument is broken by even a very superficial survey of literary history: its only motive turns out to be a probability which, carried to the limit, would

¹ For specific instances, see Brandt, *op. cit.*

² *De Ira D.* 10, 17; cp. Brandt, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

³ *Inst.* 1, 21, 48-49.

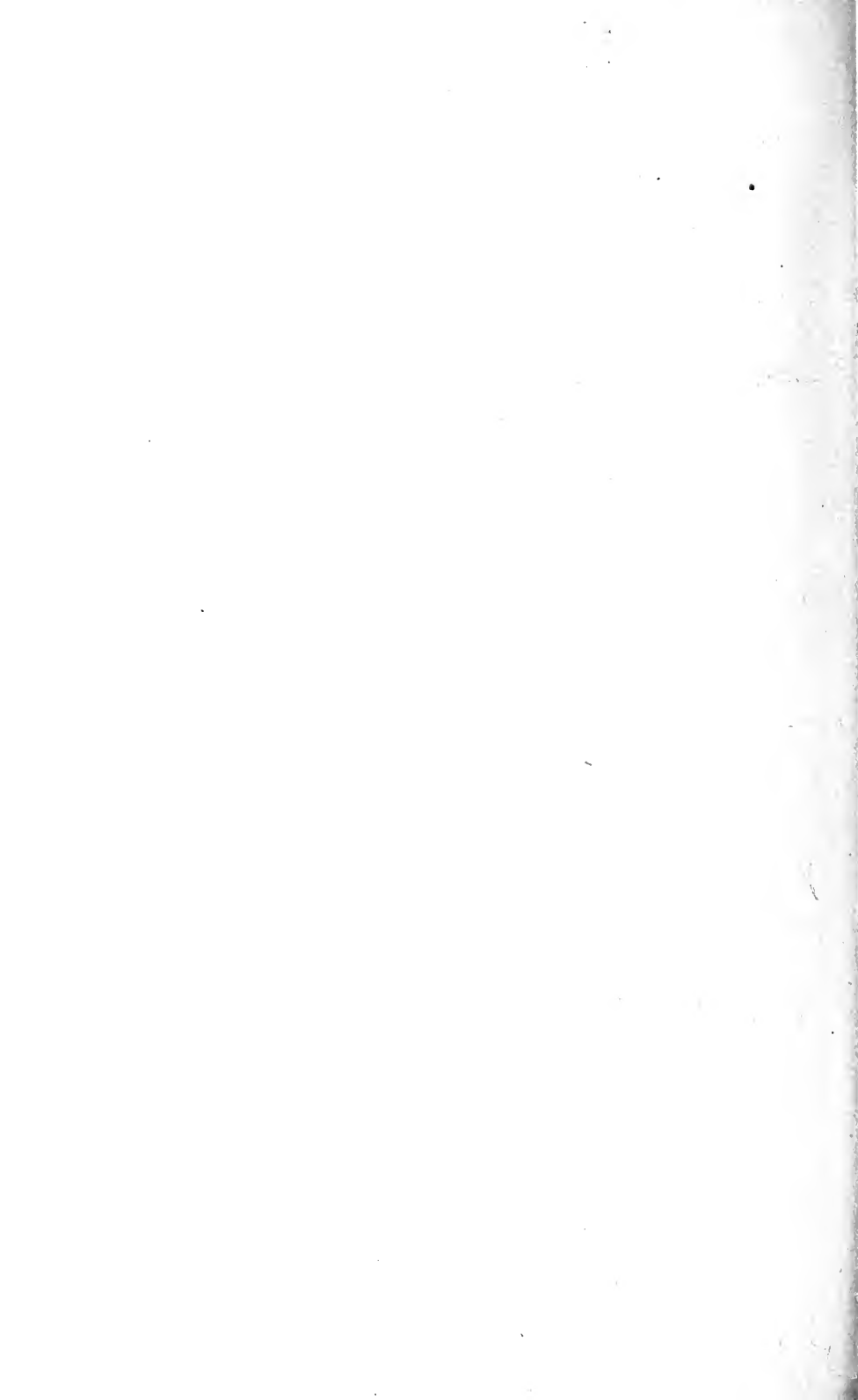
⁴ One who meditates upon the varied and vivid terms in which are couched Lactantius' diagnoses of the mental states of his adversaries, may be led to wonder, perhaps, just how much meaning actual insanity would have had for him, and if it had any, just what terms he would have devised for its definition!

⁵ Cp. Schanz, *op. cit.*, p. 40, *ad fin.*

unwrite in large part the works, *multis luminibus ingeni, nullae tamen artis*, of Pascal, Cowper, Nietzsche, Swift, Tasso, and Rousseau. Close parallels to Lucretius' state as described are the cases of Pascal, Cowper, and Nietzsche; all these writers produced some of their greatest work in the intervals of intermittent insanity. It may be that Swift's malady ought hardly to be defined as insanity: his attacks seem to have been in the nature possibly of some form of vertigo.¹ Tasso and Rousseau suffered rather from a continuous state of hallucination and melancholy.

Whoever accepts the tradition of insanity, thus instanced, should, I feel, have little hesitation in giving the mooted passage its natural rendering, *tamen* to be interpreted as the natural expression of a thought almost necessarily paramount in the critic's mind. So the translation, following Tyrrell's punctuation, will run: "Lucretius' poem, as you write, is characterized by many splendors of inspiration, yet nevertheless by much art; but till you come . . ."

¹ Cp. Stampini, *Il Suicidio di Lucrezio*, in *Rivista di storia antica e scienze affini*, 1896, vol. I, no. 4, p. 45. Stampini thinks Lucretius may have been an epileptic like Caesar, Mahomet, Victor Hugo, and Napoleon (p. 51, n. 1).



SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE
OF PH.D., 1912-13

STEPHEN BLEECKER LUCE, JR. — *Quomodo Pictores Vasorum Graecorum Facta
Herculis illustraverint Quaeritur.*

THIS dissertation limits itself to the portrayal of certain very well-known labors of Herakles in the Greek vase-paintings, and attempts to collect all the available evidence dealing with them. The labors selected for examination are (1) the strangling of the Nemean Lion; (2) the contest with the Erymanthian Boar; (3) the slaying of the Stymphalian Birds; (4) the taming of the Cretan Bull. In addition the childhood of Herakles is discussed, together with the strangling of the Serpents.

There are indices which give all the vases known to the author that portray the above subjects. Two hundred and seventy vases have been recorded on which the strangling of the Nemean Lion is represented; seventy-one show the combat with the Erymanthian Boar; eleven the killing of the Stymphalian Birds; and ninety-seven the taming of the Cretan Bull.

Four vases are published for the first time by means of photographs or drawings, one of them, a black-figured amphora in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (GR523) of great importance, as it portrays a distinct variant from the ordinary method of treating the strangling of the Nemean Lion. Two other vases are published a second time.

In addition the author was fortunately able to add materially to the lists of vases published by Joseph Boehm, in his dissertation, *Symbolae ad Herculis Historiam Fabularem ex Vasculis Pictis Petittae* (Königsberg, 1909). His list of vases dealing with Herakles and the centaur Pholos is increased from thirty-nine to forty-seven vases; the list for the combat with Geryon from forty-two to forty-six; the list for the theft of Kerberos, from fifty-three to sixty-five vases.

This dissertation confirms, by a concrete example, the great popularity of Herakles in the archaic period of Greek art, when the black-figured vase-painters flourished. Later, in the red-figured period, this popularity diminished, and Theseus, the true national hero of Attica, came to his own.

CARROLL H. MAY. — *De Motibus Animi apud Poetas Epicos. Homerum Apolloniumque expressis.*

THIS dissertation treats of the more obvious aspects of the expression and description of emotion of various kinds in the poems of Homer and Apollonius Rhodius. First the poet's intimation of his own emotion felt for his characters is discussed as it appears in his apostrophes to them or exclamations over them, in his setting forth the contrast between hopes and reality which is pathos or humor (especially the familiar Homeric sarcasm) according to circumstances, in simile and metaphor, and in gnomic reflections. Homer is found to express his emotions in the first and last mentioned forms practically never, Apollonius rather often. The various examples of pathos (using the term in the modern English sense) and humor afforded by the author himself compared with those which appear in the speeches of the characters show the pre-eminently pathetic character of the *Iliad*.

Then follows a discussion of the description of the various emotions as it appears in physiological detail, psychological detail, and in simile and metaphor. There is a discussion of the terms used, especially the various words for weeping employed by Homer, and the phrases, frequently the same for different feelings, which describe affections of the heart on the border between the physiological and the psychological. The simplicity of physiological detail and practical absence of psychological detail in Homer are contrasted with the complex and beautiful descriptions of Apollonius.

Then the emotion expressed in the words of the characters themselves is taken up and typical speeches for the various emotions analyzed. Pathos and humor, although discussed above in comparison with the poet's emotional sympathy, are mentioned here for the sake of completeness; further, wishes, rhetorical questions, interjections, expression of general sentiment, monologue, and the relation of speech to act are treated. Apollonius is found to have made a somewhat greater use of the rhetorical means of emotional expression than Homer and to have severed the connection between speech and act oftener.

In the last division of the dissertation the means of heightening the emotional effect by background and contrast, the extent of the representation of emotion of minor characters or of the crowd, the appearance of the gods as causing emotion, and, along with inanimate objects per-

sonified, sympathizing with human beings, and the sympathy of nature herself are discussed. At the end is a brief statement of the characteristics of the later epic poets, Quintus Smyrnaeus and Nonnus, compared in these various respects with Homer and Apollonius.

SAMUEL HART NEWHALL. — *Quid de somniis censuerint quoque modo eis usi sint antiqui quaeritur.*

MY real object is to show the influence of the dream or vision in the daily life and religion of the common people of the ancient Greek and Roman world, but by way of introduction a word ought to be said about the attitude of the authors toward dreams.

THE AUTHORS

In Greek literature, though dreams were first considered objective in nature, a belief in their subjectivity was seriously advocated by Plato. Aristotle's theories about dreams were scarcely inferior to those of modern psychology. Xenophanes was the first to doubt the verity of dreams and Aristophanes was the first writer who, on his own testimony, did not believe in dreams. Psychological ideas about the nature of dreams did not advance after Aristotle.

Roman literature began with a belief in dreams. During the sceptical period which followed, the leaders were Polybius, Lucilius, Lucretius and Cicero. Then followed a credulous period until a change was brought about by the influence of Seneca the younger and Pliny the elder. After that opinions were pretty evenly divided.

THE COMMON PEOPLE

The evidence here is entirely inscriptional and is based on a complete collection of dream inscriptions and dedications. In the earlier period from 166–86 B. C., which might be called the Delian period, since almost all the dream inscriptions were found at Delos, the dream sending gods were oriental, chiefly Egyptian, few in number and such in nature and in the manner of their worship that they naturally and inevitably became the dispensors of dreams and visions. In the course of the first three centuries after Christ the custom had so developed that all the

principal Roman gods and many foreign and local gods sent dreams. The list becomes very considerable. The sending of dreams was evidently a thing which received popular favor and so was engrafted on cult after cult by the priests of the different gods in order to retain the interest of the people.

Another new practice appeared in the later age, namely, the attempt of local, minor, or foreign gods to ingratiate themselves by ordering through dreams inscriptions, monuments, and so forth to the great national divinities. This was a custom which did not exist in the earlier period and which shows the same advertising tendency in religion.

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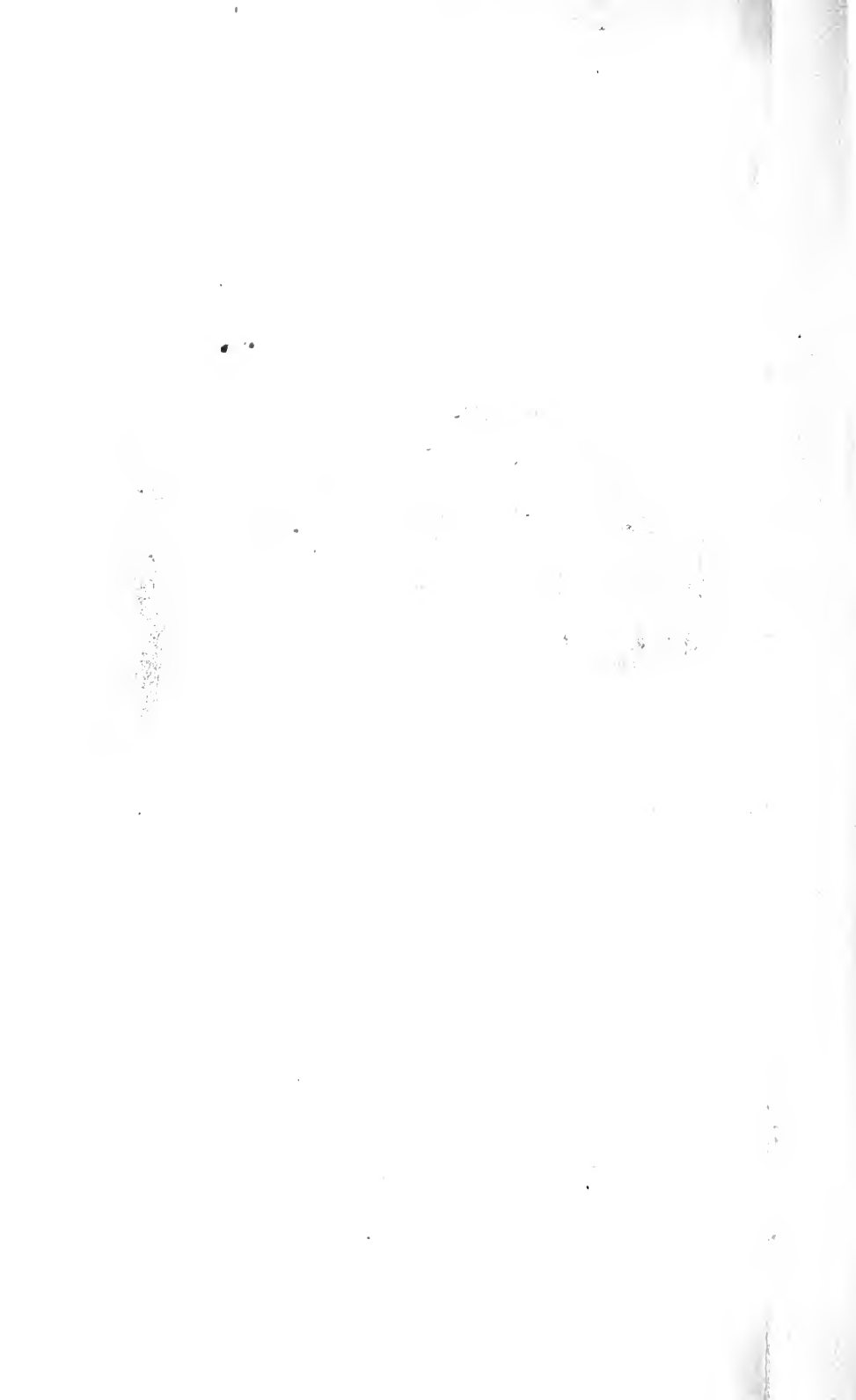
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